The Nation.

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EDITORIAL

FIELD OF DREAMS

The sixty-second Academy Awards ceremony finally gave Americans the celebration they've been expecting, and missing, in this time of triumph. With its global overbite and planetary penetration, the show seemed to bestow its most treasured Oscar, for the best performance of the year, not on a venerable movie star but on an aging imperial system. Diana Ross's past-midnight rendition of "Over the Rainbow," with audiences in Moscow, Tokyo, Buenos Aires and other sleepy cities singing along in a semblance of unison, was supposed to be something of an international anthem to Hollywood's hegemony and America's cultural superiority.

Hollywood has always manufactured American dreams, and it has now come to stand for the American system. Several commentators on the Academy Awards noted that the movies represent this country's last successful endeavor of the century. *The New York Times* quoted a professor (in Canada, of course) as saying: "Other people make better cars, better electronics. Our schoolchildren are stupider, and so on. But the one thing the world envies is the miracle of Hollywood. It's very comfortable to focus on something the United States has and everybody wants."

But can a world system long endure solely on a foundation of tinsel, gossip and illusion? It's true that America has the most sought-after symbols in the world today: the golden arches, the Hollywood celebrity, the goddess of liberty. They bring in a hefty profit. But they are too vulnerable to fashion and too readily replaced (or sold—as Columbia Pictures was to Sony this past September). Before long, a nation of stupid children and devastated industries may not be able to sustain the illusion that glitter is really gold. And that the system itself is, more and more, only a movie.

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BOMBS INTO PLOWSHARES

PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC CONVERSION

SEYMOUR MELMAN AND LLOYD J. DUMAS

It's time to start planning the conversion of America's defense economy to civilian work. By conversion we mean political, economic and technical measures for assuring the orderly transformation of labor, machinery and other economic resources now being used for military purposes to alternative civilian uses. The political impetus for conversion is gaining momentum as a result of the relaxation of cold war tensions. Another stimulus to action is America's deteriorating competitive position in the world economy.

A major factor in America's decline to the status of a second-class industrial power has been the voracious appetite of the military-industrial complex, which employs 6.5 million civilian and military personnel in more than 135,000 factories, laboratories and bases. From 1947 to 1989 this country diverted to military purposes resources whose value exceeded the fixed reproducible, tangible wealth of the entire civilian economy. Tens of thousands of factories became virtual wards of the Pentagon; sheltered from the discipline of the marketplace, they adopted inefficient and costly methods. An indirect consequence of the larger share of tax dollars funneled into the military establishment was a diminution of public investment in the infrastructure and its resulting decay. The debilitating effect of all those developments on American industrial strength is readily apparent.

Labor productivity, a key indicator of long-term efficiency, has significantly declined. Between 1968 and 1988

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LETTERS.

TABLOID CHIC

Southborough, Mass.

Andrew Kopkind's quick take on the murder of Carol Stuart, "Race, Class and Murder in Boston" [Feb. 5], participates in the innuendo style of the tabloids he excoriates. Among the lessons of Charles Stuart's hoax is—or should be—the futility of reaching for the gun of racism and shooting from the hip.

Kopkind notes that immediately after Charles Stuart, gravely wounded, told police that a black man had killed his wife and shot him, police "invaded" housing projects in Mission Hill. Was it racist or otherwise wrong for police to search immediately and massively the proximate area of the crime for an assailant described by the apparent victim? Of course not. Even if police had eventually worked the statistically accurate angle that most murders are committed by persons known to victims, they would and should have responded in hot pursuit of an assailant described by a victim. It is not "racist" for police to follow up on a victim's entirely plausible initial description—and Stuart's story was certainly plausible.

Then there is Kopkind's retelling of reports that police were abusive in this search. If so, that was entirely reprehensible, and if contentions contained in his article are accurate, racial abuse accompanied this search. But the fact of immediate search was certainly not racist, and hot pursuit, in the best of circumstances, is rarely decorous. . . .

That the politicians of the capital city should respond to a visitor's tragedy—even if she was white—is not racist. When a black child was shot last summer they went to her funeral too. Face it, pregnant women and 12-year-old children get special attention, and your average adult local residents, white or black, do not usually evoke the same response. . . .

It was especially meanspirited of Kopkind to throw Mayor Ray Flynn's past as an antibuser into the story. People change. If they couldn't or didn't, why bother with progressive politics? The Ray Flynn who fought busing in the early 1970s has become the Ray Flynn who personally escorted a black family into a segregated public housing project in his own South Boston on the eve of his reelection campaign, and took the heat in the form of losing his old electoral base to a conservative candidate. If progressives don't or won't acknowledge growth in political leaders they condemn themselves to a continuation of reactionary policy and politicians.

Flynn has risked his political capital most recently by confronting the big banks over redlining, and by forcing the creation of a $400 million loan fund targeted on minority communities. Tough work in a period when the economy is cooling down. . . .

Kopkind should back off his chic flagwaving, stop beating up on the only Mayor in the country who staked his political life on defending the homeless and direct his considerable talents to creating solutions rather than adding to problems. *Robert J.S. Ross*

'DEARIE ME'?

San Francisco

Andrew Kopkind should beware pulling the rug out from under himself. After pointing out that *Roxbury* is a synecdoche for "black people," he uses *Southie* as a synecdoche for "Boston Irish." In case any simple reader should miss the point, he insists on the "tribalism" of Mayor *Flynn* in surrounding himself with cronies named *Mickey Roache, Flanagan* and *Sweeney*—plus a Roman Catholic cardinal.

Dearie me. Isn't it a bit impolitic to defend one ethnic group against prejudice by denigrating another ethnic group? If I were Andrew Kopkind, I'd have written two articles, one defending black Americans with all due righteous indignation, the other savaging Irish-Americans to my heart's content. The first would go to *The Nation*, the second to some other organ—some voice of the Ku Klux Klan, perhaps—under an assumed name. *Frank D. Dollard*

KOPKIND REPLIES

New York City

Surely my old Movement comrade Bob Ross, a drafter of the great Port Huron Statement for S.D.S., remembers that tolerant people may act like bigots in a context of prejudice. Charles Stuart apparently understood that principle very well. He knew that white fears ran so high in Boston that even the most merciful authorities would catch the spirit and unquestioningly crack down on blacks, as a racial community, if he blamed one black for the murder of his wife. Ray Flynn performed perfectly according to Stuart's script. The aggressive deployment (i.e. invasion) of a belligerent police force throughout a black residential area may have been justified, as Ross suggests, because of the appalling nature of the crime as Stuart framed it, but that does not deny its racist assumptions and consequences. Flynn's good intentions, his sympathy for dead black children and his support for liberal programs are beside the point. It was Boston's racism that gave meaning to Flynn's response, which was to make every black man in Mission Hill a "suspect" in the murder, and to treat the community as collective perpetrators.

It may be mean to recall Flynn's past at this time (is it similarly vicious to recall Ross's?), but I think it's germane. Flynn's behavior has, for the most part, changed for the better, but his actions in the hours after Carol Stuart's death were not of a piece with his recent liberalism and imply a certain atavistic consciousness that may be located in his segregationist history in South Boston. Progressive politics seeks not only to change behavior and consciousness but also to create structures and a context that support progressive policies in moments of communal stress, when they are most needed. It's worth wondering, at this point, whether the black activist Mel King, Flynn's opponent in his first mayoral election, would have made the same moves on Mission Hill.

Like a lot of people these days, Frank Dollard seems to believe that any critical mention of ethnic groups, races, religions or intentional communities constitutes a kind of racism. But such groups have real power in this society, and they are organized around tribal values. In New York, for instance, the conflict between blacks and Jews has often taken the form of a power struggle for control of major political and economic institutions, particularly the school system and the political administration, where "black power" has been pitted against "Jewish power." In recent years, former Mayor Ed Koch and teachers' union president Albert Shanker have used Jewish fears of blacks and the threat of anti-Semitism to solidify their respective bases. In Boston "Irish power" has been a fact of life ever since it began to challenge "Yankee power" in the last century. The Irish-Americans who still use communal values, sympathies and prejudices to hold on to power have made some ethnic alliances, but not notably with African-Americans or other people of color. Ray Flynn's vaunted "populism" springs from Southie, not Roxbury. Despite the presence of a black press spokesman on his staff, the advisers concerned with policy are not only white males but consist of five Irish-Americans and one Italian-American. I don't want to belabor the King-Flynn case, but King's coalition was much broader, and his circle would certainly have had a different cast. *Andrew Kopkind*

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CORRECTION

In the March 12 article by Benjamin R. Barber, "The Most Sublime Event," the name of Joan B. Landes, the author of *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, was misspelled.

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EDITORIALS.

Money-Go-Round

Democracy! they cry. Freedom! they shout. But when the talk turns to the dollars and cents of foreign aid, a great beating of wings can be heard in the corridors of Washington. It is the sound of confusion cloaked in high moral purpose. The present mood can be traced back to January, when Senator Robert Dole proposed on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* to reallocate part of the aid earmarked for Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and the Philippines to an "emerging democracies fund." Much fuss ensued over which countries were the most deserving contenders—and on what criteria. Why should Panama be worth half a billion, and Namibia half a million? Any sense that there is unlimited cash in the bank to follow the flag has vanished, and the hopes of Poles, Romanians and Filipinos for a mini-Marshall Plan are doomed to disappointment.

The arguments over who gets what have much more to do with the self-absorbed shell game of domestic politics than with clear foreign policy goals. Proposals to cut aid to Israel run smack into the hostility of Aipac; Bush's call for a Panama-Nicaragua fund conflicts with the Democrats' wish to play to ethnic Eastern European voters; any talk of an overall increase in foreign aid is shot down by invoking

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Gramm-Rudman, or the tax-increase taboo, or by the Pentagon's refusal to be seen as a cash cow (even though canceling research on the LHX helicopter, to pick just one item, would comfortably pay for the Panama aid package). Where Defense Secretary Dick Cheney does make grudging cuts, it's to keep Congress at bay, not to express a coherent world view. Under the law of inertia, of course, money can always be found for programs already in place—like $1 billion for a two-year rental of Philippine bases to guard against a nonexistent threat.

This absence of threats is what largely accounts for the neurotic tone of the debate. Even assuming the cash can be found, what is it for? The largest single chunk of funds at stake is $720 million in aid to Panama and Nicaragua. But to what end? To secure the victory and put pressure on Cuba—reassuringly traditional goals—as Bush suggests? To salve a guilty conscience? To show us that America follows through on its commitments? Because, as Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger says, we owe it to them? (As war reparations, perhaps, though that thought, most assuredly, occurs to nobody in Washington.)

The goals of U.S. aid since World War II have been clear: to contain Communism, open markets and make over the world in America's likeness. Now comes the dilemma: on one hand, the triumphalist myth that the cold war has been won; on the other, the evident fact that there is nobody left to contain, coupled with the more diffuse anxiety that there are few markets we are able to penetrate. It is Japan, not the United States, that has the products that will sell and the reserves to dole out in the form of aid; and it is West German, not American, entrepreneurial drive that will crash into the captive markets of Eastern Europe. The United States, meanwhile, risks continued global decline, even the prospect of becoming, in Walter Russell Mead's alluring phrase, "the Argentina of the twenty-first century."

The only part of the foreign aid repertoire to survive intact is the impulse to evangelize the world in the name of democracy. For years, that effort could be measured by keeping an eye on the missionaries of the C.I.A. and the Agency for International Development. But the agency to watch in the 1990s will be the National Endowment for Democracy. Already zealously engaged in "building democratic institutions" in Eastern Europe and Latin America, it has the image of being both high-minded and low-budgeted—considerable bipartisan virtues in these straitened but bombastic times.

Maggie Stumbles

London

Middle England is stirring. On March 22 the constituency of Mid-Staffordshire, a Conservative bastion, fell to the opposition Labor Party—its greatest by-election triumph since 1935. While this result may not be an accurate guide to the outcome of the next general election, by-elections do reflect the political mood of the country. Today, with opinion polls showing a Labor lead of as much as 28 percent, the weather vane is set hard against Margaret Thatcher.

The primary reason for the Mid-Staffordshire revolt was the introduction of the poll tax or community charge, which 89 percent of voters identified as the most important campaign issue. This is the Conservatives' plan for local taxation, which, unlike the old system of property tax, is predicated on the principle that every adult, irrespective of income, should pay an equal amount toward local services. Supposedly designed to make local authorities more accountable, the tax represents the latest phase of the Tories' crusade against rebellious Labor-run councils. If ever there was a symbol of Thatcherite inequity—a duke will pay the same as a dustman—it is the poll tax. Bungled estimates of its impact have made matters worse for the government: According to the latest figures, 25 million people will be worse off under the tax, while only 10 million will benefit.

The middle-class core of the Conservative Party is in open rebellion, and not just in Mid-Staffordshire. Eighteen Tory councilors in West Oxfordshire and nine in Beverley, Humberside, have abandoned the party, rejecting their national colleagues' claims that high poll-tax bills can be blamed on profligate Labor councils. In Tory heartlands throughout the country, people whose most demonstrative political act had been attendance at a Conservative Party coffee morning have marched in protest.

At one level, of course, the widespread dissatisfaction with the Conservative government is based on self-interest. Most Tory voters dislike the poll tax because it hurts them financially, not because it is inherently regressive. Yet underlying the anger is a more general sense of economic betrayal. Faced with spiraling prices and mortgage payments (inflation and interest rates are now at 7.7 percent and 15 percent respectively), many, particularly homeowners, are switching their allegiance from Thatcher. She encouraged the purchase of houses and consumer goods on credit, but under current economic conditions people can't keep up their payments.

Third-term Thatcherism is discredited on many other fronts—from the plans for water and electricity privatization to the further dismantling of the National Health Service and plans to replace student grants with loans. The public perception is that Thatcher has gone too far. In the past, people ignored the Conservatives' obvious contempt for the principles of the welfare state because of the short-term economic gains that Thatcher brought to many of those who had work. Now, concurrent with economic decline, they begin to look at what she has done to Britain's social fabric. The health, education and transportation systems are chronically under-funded. Homelessness here in Britain rose by 122 percent in the 1980s, mostly because of further restrictions on welfare entitlements. Increasing numbers of people are driven to beg.

That is why Labor's bland slogan in Mid-Staffordshire, "Vote for what you value," was successful—there is a growing sense among Britons that what they value is under attack from the Conservative Party. The overwhelming public support for the ambulance workers in their recently settled six-

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month salary dispute can be seen as a sign of the success of a new style of media-conscious, nonthreatening trade unionism, but it was also a protest against the contempt that Thatcher and her government showed for an integral part of Britain's health service.

For Conservative M.P.s looking ahead to the next general election, the poll tax may appear a monumental blunder. But their main concern is Thatcher herself, who is now seen as the engineer of social demolition. This image may prove terminal. This past October she became the most unpopular Prime Minister since polling began.

Some Tory M.P.s now talk openly of replacing Thatcher with dissident former Defense Minister Michael Heseltine, although it is not clear that the party could recover from the bruising internal battle such a challenge would provoke. Others hope for an economic turnaround that would pave the way for pre-election tax cuts, a winning formula in 1987.

But even that might not be enough. Beneath the discontent with Thatcher is a growing rejection of the "enterprise culture" she has promoted. The popular verdict now is that this has not only failed to address Britain's long-term economic decline but has also brought an era of social decay and disintegration. Consequently, the traditional postwar enthusiasm for the welfare state is fast re-emerging as a central factor in British politics.

The prime beneficiary of this mood is the Labor Party, the only alternative to Thatcherism after the collapse of the small center parties. But just how much of an alternative is Labor? Its leaders do continue to speak the language of social concern, yet their strategy is marked by extreme caution, an avoidance of any appearance of radicalism and a reluctance to argue for anything that might not command majority opinion-poll support. Of course, because of the government's combination of dogmatism and ineptitude, this may not matter in opposition. But in power?

Expectations of an early Thatcher resignation are probably misplaced, and a general election does not have to be called before spring 1992. However, the Tories are in their greatest turmoil in fifteen years, and their leader is now a hated figure. The Labor victor in Mid-Staffordshire, Sylvia Heal, boldly proclaimed, "The dark age of Thatcherism is drawing to a close." By present reckoning, she may well be right.

EDWARD MILIBAND

Edward Miliband, a former Nation *intern, is a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*

Frosh Activists

The Age of Reagan seems to be coming to an end on the nation's campuses: 37 percent of this year's freshman class report that they "participated in organized demonstrations" last year, according to an authoritative poll—more than double the percentage of the late 1960s. "Influencing social values" was "a very important goal" to 41 percent—an all-time high (the sixties peak was 34 percent, in 1969 and 1970). Eighty-six percent of all college freshmen think the government is not doing enough to control pollution, 68 percent said the government wasn't doing enough to promote disarmament and 65 percent supported abortion rights—the highest ever, up from 53 percent in 1979.

What gave last year's high school seniors the idea that they ought to fight the power and exercise their First Amendment rights? School issues provoked many demonstrations in 1988-89, as students marched against dress codes and in support of popular minority teachers and officials threatened with firing. The dismissal of a black superintendent was the focus of the recent Selma, Alabama, sit-in by black high school students. In Los Angeles, 10,000 high school students took part in sit-ins and protest marches during a two-week teachers' strike last year, with many of the students actively supporting the teachers' demands—the largest wave of student-led protests in the L.A. schools in twenty years.

Fewer of this year's freshmen told the poll they were interested in majoring in business than any entering class during the previous five years, and the number who said it was "very important" or "essential" to "be successful in my own business" declined to 45 percent, its lowest point in more than a decade. "The great surge of popularity of business majors and careers that we witnessed during the 1970s and 1980s has ended," the pollsters concluded. Crime and drugs were the only areas in which a majority of first-year students held Reaganite views: Only 21 percent opposed the death penalty, compared with 58 percent in 1971; 17 percent favored legalizing marijuana, an all-time low, down from a peak of 53 percent in 1977.

The study, conducted annually since 1966 by U.C.L.A.'s Higher Education Research Institute and the American Council on Education, involved 296,000 freshmen at almost 600 two- and four-year colleges and universities; it was statistically adjusted to represent all 1.6 million first-time, full-time students entering college in fall 1989. Students filled out a four-page multiple-choice "Student Information Form" on which the political questions were camouflaged. The form included a list of twenty-five "activities"; students were asked to check those they had engaged in. "Participated in organized demonstration" came between "won a varsity letter for sports" and "was bored in class."

So the *Zeitgeist* has shifted. But it's not shifting back to the sixties: There's no Vietnam War to provide a unifying focus for protest today, and no leaders of student protest have captured national media attention. Today's freshman activists find themselves in a more intellectually nurturing campus environment than did their predecessors of twenty-five years ago. More faculty members are teaching about power and inequality than ever before, and the campus left of the eighties leaves a respectable legacy of fighting for divestment and against campus racism. The eighties were a hard decade—and the times they are a-changin'.

JON WIENER

Jon Wiener, a contributing editor of The Nation, *teaches history at the University of California, Irvine.*

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

As the Red Army withdraws from Hungary and Poland and Czechoslovakia it emphasizes the position of the United States as the largest single controller of bases, troops and weapons outside its own border. This was already the case before the cold war went into liquidation (even at the height of the Reagan years I was able to win bets from innumerable Washingtonians who didn't know that the United States maintains and garrisons a vast military base on the well-known strategic island of Cuba). And it's always been true of nuclear weaponry, with which the United States has been generous both as a deploying nation and as a nation that gives the nuclear wherewithal to others. It has become harder to justify these lethal emplacements around the globe, but the effort continues to be made, as the following pair of examples will illustrate.

Recently at the New York Television Festival a Scottish documentary won first place in the investigative category. No one in America has seen fit to broadcast or publicize *The Base Line*, which is a shame because it shows the fear and dislike with which U.S. Navy submarines are viewed in one of Western Europe's largest cities. The fear and dislike are not at all remarkable given the revelations about the program. According to Capt. James Bush, the former commander of the Polaris submarine U.S.S. Simon Bolivar, the Navy made a practice of dumping primary coolant from its nuclear reactors into the estuary of the River Clyde, hard by an immense concentration of civilians in the city of Glasgow.

As usual with disclosures of this sort, the admission is made about two decades after those who suspected its truth were dismissed as cranks and subversives. Discussing the release of primary coolant into Holy Loch—the name given to the home port of the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet—Captain Bush maintains:

> I think we should have done it in our own country and not taken advantage of the Scots, who were so wonderful, and here we were discharging radioactivity into their harbor. I'm quite frankly ashamed.

The sentiment is more praiseworthy than the confused expression it takes. I spent some drizzle-sodden years on a naval base in Scotland in my boyhood and would not have wished radioactive coolant to be swilling around in American waters rather than my own. Still, the point is clear. Nuclear bases endanger civilians in time of "peace" as well as giving them the dubious opportunity to watch their governments commit simultaneous suicide and genocide in time of war. Now would be an excellent time for the Democratic Party to demand the closing of these ghastly, costly facilities, both in the United States and overseas. Instead of which, in the case of my second example, what do we find? A coalition of centrist and liberal Democrats organizing to defeat a humane resolution on the grounds that it would endanger an American nuclear presence on the soil of a foreign dictatorship.

To sketch in some background here, I need to emphasize that April 24 will mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the onset of Turkey's attempt at a final solution to the Armenian question. The word "genocide" had not been coined that early in the century, but the American Ambassador to Ottoman Turkey in the period, Henry Morgenthau, employed an equally powerful term in his dispatches to Washington. The policy being pursued in the Armenian provinces, he declared, was one of "race murder." By 1923 a million and a half Armenians had been slaughtered; most of the remainder had been forcibly expelled from their homeland, which remains permanently alienated from them. Even Kemal Ataturk, late in his life, admitted the exceptional scale and cruelty of the policy.

For years the American Armenian community has been petitioning for a day of recognition and commemoration, certified by Congress, of this national disaster. But the Administration has been lobbying against historical truth in this instance, arguing rather slimily that the whole thing is too complicated to make a judgment about, and, more honestly, that in any case our great Turkish ally and client might be offended.

This year Senator Robert Dole was the sponsor of the resolution for an Armenian day. In case you wonder why, he was greatly helped by an Armenian doctor after being injured in the war, and he picked up some indelible knowledge from conversations with the man. The filibuster against the resolution, which looked as if it would pass at one point, was led by Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia. Inside the Democratic Party and outside he was strongly seconded by Representative Stephen Solarz. The arguments of both men took the same form. Turkey buys a lot of our hardware. It is a reliable friend of Israel. It agrees, without consulting its population, to play host to air bases and listening posts. It had threatened, if the resolution passed, to be less accommodating and to close some bases. What are the claims of the Armenians to set against this constellation of Turkish good deeds?

Also lobbying strenuously against the passage of the resolution was ALESA, the American League for Exports and Security Assistance. Cast your eye down the members list of this lobby group and you will find Hughes Aircraft, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, Grumman, Westinghouse and all the corporate colossi of the arms race and the cold war. With leading Democrats as their political executives, these forces organized a last-minute defeat of the resolution and protected the good name of a good customer—the only member of NATO or the Warsaw Pact to have been found still to use torture as an administrative method, to have made an institution of censorship and to have forbidden the formation of genuine political parties.

One of the stories relayed above concerns environmental safety and one concerns political justice, conditions that are permanently threatened by the continued exercise of nuclear politics. To proclaim the end of the cold war and to begin babbling about the peace dividend is to ignore the continued existence in our lives, and the lives of others, of cold war institutions.

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ARTICLES.

WHY VARGANOMICS WON'T WORK

Peru's Addiction To Coca Dollars

PETER ANDREAS

Mario Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian novelist turned presidential candidate, promises to transform his country's comatose economy into a shining example of the free-market revolution he sees sweeping Latin America. Backed by his conservative Fredemo alliance, Vargas Llosa is the front-runner in Peru's April 8 presidential election. His campaign has cost an estimated $70 million—many times more than all his opponents combined—with voters subjected to a massive media and advertising blitz masterminded by the New York political consulting firm Sawyer/Miller.

But while Vargas Llosa's passionate commitment to free-market principles is good news to the Bush Administration, ideological compatibility will not translate into success in the war on drugs, which is Bush's principal obsession in Peru. With Peru's economy near bankruptcy, producing coca—the raw material of cocaine—is the country's only real growth industry. It is both the biggest generator of foreign exchange and the source of employment for hundreds of thousands of Peruvian farmers. So, even as Peru cooperates with U.S. antidrug operations, its Central Bank eagerly soaks up the flow of dollars generated by the coca trade, which in turn helps with the country's severe balance of payments problem.

The coca economy is hopelessly intertwined with Peru's legal economy and will undoubtedly be a crucial ingredient of free-market Varganomics. Loose banking regulations and liberal foreign exchange policies will facilitate the continued absorption of coca dollars into the economy to help service the foreign debt and pay for critical imports, while the adoption of International Monetary Fund–style shock treatment will lower wages and fuel unemployment, pushing many more poor Peruvians into the thriving coca trade.

Not surprisingly, eradicating the country's most important export crop is not a priority for most Peruvians, and the presidential candidates have largely ignored the subject. Overwhelmed by a deepening economic crisis and growing political violence, Peruvians are reluctant recruits in a drug war they see as a risky public relations campaign aimed at U.S. critics. As one foreign official has characterized it, requesting that Peru fight a genuine war on drugs is like "asking a country that's fighting the Civil War and going through the Great Depression at the same time to suddenly take on Prohibition as well."

Peter Andreas is a research associate at the Institute for Policy Studies.

Alan García, the once-popular but now almost universally reviled President of Peru, is blamed for taking the country down a suicidal road of mismanagement and overspending that has contributed to the country's worst economic crisis of the century. García has also presided over the bloodiest period in recent Peruvian history: More than 16,000 lives have been lost since the Sendero Luminoso ("Shining Path") movement began its guerrilla war in 1980. García has failed either to limit the spread of the insurgency or to curb the gross human rights violations committed by the military. Political killings have increased dramatically, jumping 60 percent last year to 3,198.

The past two years have been especially disastrous. From 1988 to 1989 the economy shrank by 20 percent—the biggest decline in the hemisphere. In 1989 the official inflation rate reached 2,775 percent. As one popular joke in Lima goes, "It's better to pay for your lunch before eating because the price might go up by the time you're finished." While inflation has soared, real wages have dropped by 60 percent.

Peru's wealthiest families—often referred to as "the twelve apostles"—have stashed much of their savings in foreign real estate and bank accounts. Investment levels by the Peruvian private sector have not risen in more than three decades, while foreign direct investment has slowed to a trickle. Meanwhile, the I.M.F., the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have cut off credits, and commercial bank lending has dried up as a result of Peru's inability to finance its $17 billion foreign debt.

With debt obligations mounting and foreign exchange reserves dwindling, the jobs and revenues generated by Peru's booming coca trade have softened the impact of the crisis. The heart of the coca trade is the vast Upper Huallaga Valley, the largest coca-growing zone in the world. World demand for cocaine has created an illicit boom economy in the valley, with coca acreage expanding roughly 10 percent per year to its present estimated size of 250,000 acres. The potential for further expansion along the lush eastern slopes of the Andes is enormous.

This "white gold rush," as Peruvian anthropologist Edmundo Morales calls it, has attracted thousands of migrants who lack viable economic opportunities in the legal economy. By one estimate, as many as 70,000 Peruvians have moved to the valley in the past three years alone. While coca prices fluctuate dramatically, peasant producers can earn as much as ten times more from growing coca than from any other crop.

Coca leaves are processed into raw paste and sold to Colombian traffickers, who arrive daily in small planes. This simple transaction generates as much as $1.2 billion annually for Peru, about 30 percent of the value of all of the country's legal exports combined. This, of course, is a tiny fraction of the cocaine trade's total profits—most of which remain in the United States—but the dollars that do trickle into Peru are critical to its cash-starved economy.

Money-changers from Peru's parallel foreign exchange market on Ocoña Street in downtown Lima routinely

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to the valley to buy coca dollars. These *cambistas* return to Lima to sell the dollars at a slight profit. According to the Peruvian consulting firm Apoyo, $3 million a day is exchanged on the parallel market, most of it coca dollars. "If the *cambistas* suddenly disappeared, there would be a huge adverse impact on the country," says Jorge Fernández Baca, a Peruvian economist who studies the underground economy. "Importers couldn't get along without them because they need dollars to buy goods from abroad." According to Peruvian economist Humberto Campodónico, without these dollars the exchange rate in Peru would nearly double, making vital imports necessary to generate growth extremely expensive.

The country's major banks (including the Central Bank) buy dollars on Ocoña Street's parallel market, but purchase most of their coca dollars directly through their busy branches in the Upper Huallaga Valley. Consequently, although most small towns in the valley do not have paved roads or decent plumbing, they move more dollars than many of the country's large cities. Once into the banking system, these dollars are "clean" and can be used to buy needed imports or service the foreign debt.

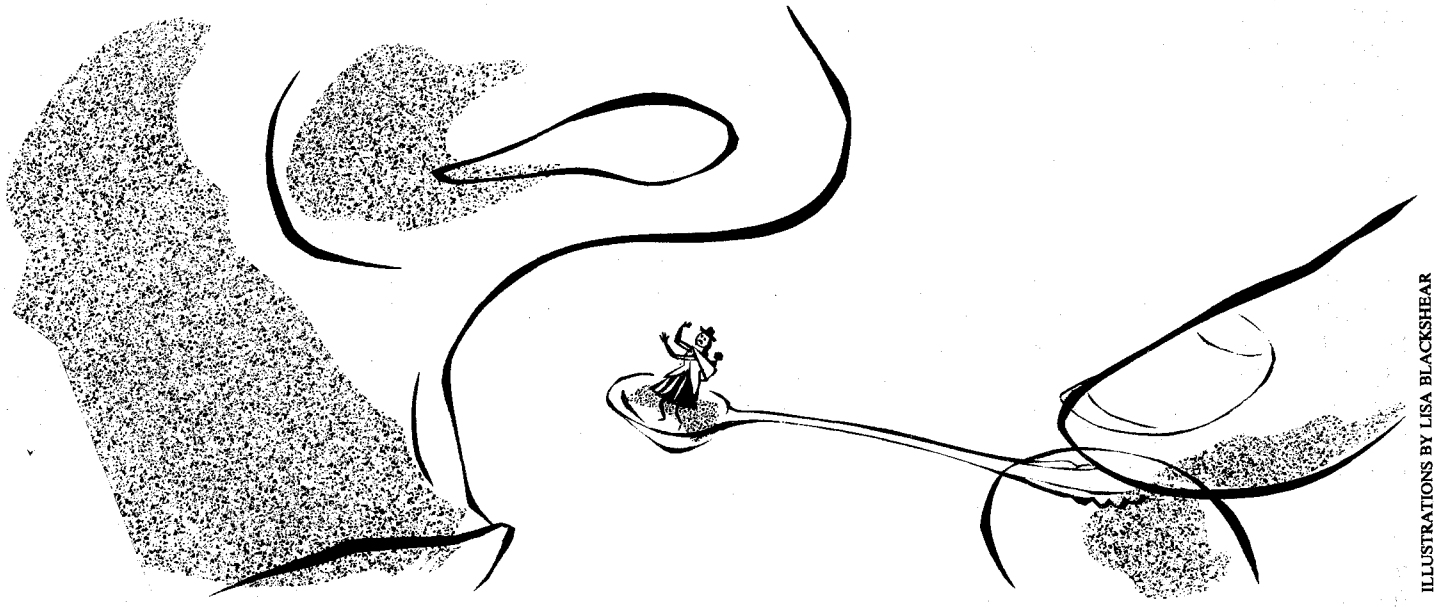
Peru's financial institutions began courting drug money in the late 1970s when, according to economist R.T. Naylor in his book *Hot Money and the Politics of Debt*, "Peru deliberately abolished exchange controls to attract coca-dollars, exchanging them for local currency or for dollar-denominated certificates of deposit (CDs) with no questions asked. Peruvian banks rapidly expanded into cocaine country to sop up the flow." In April 1985 the *Andean Report*, a business newsletter that monitors economic developments in Peru, noted that "the wide-open Central Bank rules governing foreign exchange . . . [have] made Peru as easy a place as Panama to hide, change, launder and transfer large amounts of cash through the banking system."

The private Banco de Crédito, the most aggressive purchaser of coca dollars in the Upper Huallaga Valley, even has its own airplanes to transport coca revenues back to Lima. According to the *Andean Report*, the Banco de Crédito controls about half the banking market in the valley and also has an expanding network of subsidiaries and branches in New York, California, Nassau, Panama and the Cayman Islands. The bank is controlled by the Raffo-Romero group, described by *The Economist* as Peru's "most powerful business empire." (Interestingly, the group's chief spokesman, Miguel Vega, is also the co-founder of Vargas Llosa's Fredemo alliance.)

As foreign exchange reserves have dried up and debts have grown, the nation's financial system has increasingly tolerated dollars from any source, legal or illegal. With net international reserves depleted by January 1988, President García opened foreign exchange houses, encouraged importers to buy dollars from the parallel market to finance imports and declared a tax amnesty on all repatriated dollars, with no questions asked. Peru is now one of the most "dollarized" countries in Latin America, with people from all classes keeping dollars as the only hedge against hyperinflation.

"Chances of a better future are dismal," writes Carlos Hamann, former editor of the *Andean Report*. "Tens of thousands of Peruvians, mainly middle-class professionals, have emigrated abroad. Thousands more swarm the principal foreign embassies every day seeking travel visas. The polls show that, given the chance, over half of all urban Peruvians would leave immediately." Vargas Llosa promises to restore people's shattered faith in the country's future with a potent dose of laissez-faire economics. But while García's policies have been a clear disaster, free-market recipes have never worked very well in Peru either. García, after all, inherited an I.M.F.-molded economy in 1985 that in five years under the conservative Fernando Belaúnde Terry had led to triple-digit inflation and a 40 percent drop in the standard of living.

Vargas Llosa faces even greater obstacles in the 1990s. Many Peruvian manufacturers are rightly worried that lowering tariffs and opening the country to imports may put them out of business. Journalist Marcelo Montenegro notes



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that "the purity of free market principles may be hard to swallow for Peruvian business groups, weaned under an activist state." Vargas Llosa's harsh austerity policies would also entail an enormous social cost: Wages would be depressed (the minimum wage is already an abysmal 50 cents a day), unemployment would soar (as many as 500,000 government workers would be laid off) and food subsidies would be cut. As Peruvian economist Guido Pennano has said, shock treatment to revive Peru "is like performing heart, stomach, kidney and lung surgery all at the same time on a patient who hasn't eaten in three years."

Peru may follow the Bolivian path of orthodox "structural adjustment" cushioned by the jobs and revenues of the coca trade. Bolivia's application of bitter I.M.F. medicine in the mid-1980s under Victor Paz Estenssoro led to mass layoffs, especially in the state-owned mining sector. Desperate for work, many of Bolivia's poor turned to the booming coca trade. (Nevertheless, when asked how the I.M.F. is dealing with the links between poverty and drugs, a spokesperson responded, "We haven't looked at poverty in Latin America in this context.") While unemployment officially doubled in Bolivia between 1980 and 1986, the number of coca growers tripled. As many as 500,000 Bolivian workers are now tied to the coca economy.

As part of his economic liberalization strategy, Paz Estenssoro established loose Central Bank disclosure rules to attract dollars—from any source—into the country. Also, liberal import policies facilitated the use of coca dollars to buy foreign goods. The Bolivian economy is now so tied to the drug trade that, in the words of Herbert Muller, a former director of Bolivia's Central Bank, "cocaine is like a cushion that is preventing a social explosion."

Peru's larger and more diversified economy may avoid Bolivian levels of coca dependency. Yet the syndrome is the same: In both countries the importance of coca has grown in direct proportion to the decline of the legal economy, and pressure from the international financial community for debt payments has only exacerbated the problem. Washington, meanwhile, remains blind to the fundamental contradiction between its drug policy and its economic policy. Thus, while the Drug Enforcement Administration pressures Peru to eradicate coca, the Treasury Department pressures the country to pay its debts—which can be repaid only with the help of coca dollars.

Bush's two favorite campaigns in Latin America—promoting free markets and fighting drugs—end up fueling each other in Peru. It is ironic that Bush should be an admirer of the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, whose book, *El Otro Sendero* ("The Other Path"), celebrates the "capitalist spirit" of Peru's small entrepreneurs in the underground economy. At the World Bank/I.M.F. annual meeting in Washington last September Bush remarked that de Soto "has helped us understand a worldwide economic phenomenon. . . . He found that the poor of Latin America . . . ran their affairs democratically, outside the formal economy, organizing their private, parallel economy in a free, unregulated manner." No group fits this description better than the thousands of Peruvians in the coca trade.

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BORIS KAGARLITSKY
Leader of the Moscow Popular Front and candidate in the Moscow municipal elections, author of *The Thinking Reed* and *The Dialectic of Change* (Verso, 1990)

DANIEL SINGER
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For Washington to acknowledge these overwhelming narcoeconomic realities would be politically awkward and embarrassing, an admission that Bush's drug war is based on hopelessly flawed premises. United States–Peruvian relations will continue to be defined by the elaborate game of reality denial called "drug diplomacy." In exchange for humoring Washington's cocaphobia, Peru is rewarded with major increases in military aid and training—which, given the priorities of the Peruvian military, are more likely to be used to eradicate guerrilla insurgents than coca fields. Meanwhile, Peru's ailing economy spirals downward at an ever-increasing pace, kept afloat by a sea of coca dollars. Mario Vargas Llosa could not have asked for better material for his next novel. □

LETTER FROM EUROPE

P.C.I.—What's In a New Name?

DANIEL SINGER

I thought I was going to the opulent city of Bologna, with its ancient red-brick palaces, for the funeral of the Italian Communist Party. The city's modern *palazzetto dello sport*, where the confrontations usually involve basketball, did witness four days of theater and tension, of drama and passion. But the P.C.I.'s 19th Party Congress was never a duel to the death: It was shadowboxing or, more accurately, a fight in which the punches were pulled.

It was the third evening of the congress, March 9, that brought its undoubted climax, with a standing ovation for Pietro Ingrao, leader of the party's opposition. Next morning, as Ingrao publicly embraced P.C.I. first secretary Achille Occhetto amid cries of "Unity! Unity!" it was possible to conclude that the party stood together and that its future was rosy. But in fact, my original instincts were probably correct. Bologna may not exactly have been a funeral for the party but it was probably the beginning of the end.

However ambiguous the debate may have been, the issue addressed by the largest Communist party in the West was crucial: Now that the Communist world is collapsing in Eastern Europe, what is the role of the Western parties that were once connected to that myth? Indeed, what is the function of any progressive party? Occhetto unwittingly raised this question back in November when he proposed to change the party's name and structure to make it better able to win elected office—if not to take power. But he did not bargain for the resistance he encountered. This came not only from the left wing of the party but from the centrist majority that Occhetto heads. After a three-month fight, the *Sì* vote for his proposed changes carried the day by two to one, not a very impressive victory if one considers the clout of functionaries within the party, the habit of deference to the leadership and the news media's overwhelming backing of Occhetto.

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

What's in a Name?

Clearly there was more at stake than a change of name. The reasons for dropping the word "Communist" were somewhat symbolic: If the word implied a party prepared to seize power in revolutionary fashion, the P.C.I.—inventor of the *compromesso storico*, or "historic compromise"—had long ago lost any such reputation. Nor was the aim to avoid guilt by association. Admittedly, it is absurd to claim that the Italian party was never Stalinist: All the parties of the Third International were. It is also worth recalling that twenty years ago the party expelled the editors of *Il Manifesto*—then a budding monthly, now an independent communist daily—for refusing to accept that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia could be explained as "an error" and insisting that the crime said something about the very nature of Soviet society.

On the other hand, perhaps because the P.C.I. had to work underground during the Fascist period, Moscow's direct influence was less than elsewhere; the subtle ideas of Antonio Gramsci, one of the party's founders, survived to some extent. Then, after the war, Palmiro Togliatti proved a more sophisticated leader than Maurice Thorez in France by elaborating the concept of polycentrism (the forerunner of Eurocommunism) before his death in 1964. By 1981 the divorce with Moscow was complete, with P.C.I. secretary general Enrico Berlinguer arguing publicly that "the impetus of October [1917] is by now exhausted." The Italian party, then, is less damaged than its French or Portuguese counterparts by the collapse of regimes in Eastern Europe that it had openly condemned.

The real reasons for the proposed change in name and structure are essentially domestic. Under Berlinguer the party appeared to do well at first, propelled by the labor offensive that began in the "hot autumn" of 1969. Yet the historic compromise that Berlinguer offered to the dynamic wing of Italian big business after the fall of Allende in Chile and the onset of the deep economic crisis of the 1970s was never taken up in earnest. After a time the tide moved in the other direction. In Italy, as elsewhere, the restructuring of the economy led to a series of defeats for labor, notably at Fiat's Turin factory in 1980. Besides, while incomparably more flexible than the French Communist Party, the P.C.I. never really came to terms with the three successive social movements of students, women and ecologists. To make matters worse, the general swing to the right has been exploited to some extent by Bettino Craxi—the ambitious new leader of the Italian Socialist Party—whose connection with socialism is purely nominal.

The party that Occhetto took over in 1988 is still, in some senses, a powerful force. Commanding the support of roughly a quarter of the Italian electorate, it is the dominant force on the Italian left, nearly twice as strong as Craxi's P.S.I. But it is losing ground, with no electoral prospects and, at this point, no other vision. The apparent purpose of reorganizing the party into a looser body is to make it easier

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WRITERS FOR PANTHEON

We, the undersigned authors, many of us published by Pantheon Books, Alfred A. Knopf, Random House, and other divisions of Random House, Inc., protest an assault on editorial independence and cultural freedom. Pantheon Books, a distinctive and distinguished publisher for half a century, has been decapitated by the forced resignation of managing director André Schiffrin. Pantheon has been a singular publishing house, devoted to intellectual excellence and the cultivation of thoughtful controversy. It has specialized in bringing diverse and challenging voices (from Latin America, Asia, and Europe as well as the United States) into the American mainstream. When the Newhouse family purchased Random House, Inc., in 1980, it incurred an obligation to preserve and nurture this invaluable resource for writers, editors, and readers. But now, following on the heels of the forced resignation of Random House, Inc., chairman and president Robert L. Bernstein, a noted advocate of free expression, Mr. S. I. Newhouse's action restricts the freedom to publish. Although we are not privy to all the interior discussions or motives, what is clear is that the effect of Mr. Schiffrin's forced resignation is to chill the intellectual environment. An important part of our national dialogue, the basis of an informed citizenry in a democratic society, has been silenced.

We wish to express solidarity with the five senior editors—Sara Bershtel, Tom Engelhardt, James Peck, Susan Rabiner, and Wendy Wolf—who have resigned in protest. In a year when intellectual freedom has scored such stunning successes around the world, it is appalling that a unique center of intellectual vitality should be so thoughtlessly extinguished in America. We urge Mr. Newhouse to take seriously his responsibility as a custodian of one of America's cultural treasures, and to reverse his decision.

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for newcomers to join, although one fails to see why women, students, greens or intellectuals should be any more attracted to a movement that offers an even less radical alternative. The change of name makes more sense in the context of a search for an alliance with Craxi, or perhaps even a formal alliance with his Socialists. The P.C.I., claiming 1.5 million members, remains a mass party with the vague reputation of intending somehow to transform society. By dropping the name "Communist," it proclaims (or confirms) that it is in the same business as Craxi—the management of capitalism.

Sì for Schizophrenia?

It was necessary to recall all this history as Achille Occhetto ascended the rostrum to recite his marathon report, his image projected, larger than life, on eight giant video screens. Occhetto spoke slowly and distinctly, and what he said sounded like sweet and reasonable music to leftist ears. He talked about the end of Yalta and the decline of the nation-state, the need for the entire European left to adapt to the new situation and the impossibility of the P.C.I. doing so alone. He spoke of liberty and equality, of the crucial contribution of women's liberation, of the search for a "nondominant, nonviolent relationship with nature."

And yet, as he went on, I felt a certain unease, which I understood only later as I reread the text of his speech. The reverend Occhetto was trying to be all things to all people; he preached everything and its opposite. But it is impossible to express solidarity with Daniel Ortega and at the same time accept NATO bases on Italian soil, even on newly negotiated terms. One cannot say that the workers must determine "the type, the rhythm, the finality and the organization" of their labor and also extol the "positive function" of private enterprise; or talk of a society "freed from all forms of exploitation and domination" while dismissing the conflict between the Communist movement and capitalism as old hat. Or if one does, one should expect to be dismissed with an Italian song popular a few years ago: "*Parole, Parole, Parole.*"

This gap between rhetorical proclamations and concrete proposals was a feature of all the pleas for the *Sì*—though less so in the case of the "colonels," Occhetto's younger assistants, than in that of orators with a leftist background. The epitome was the intervention of Bruno Trentin, leader of Italy's biggest union, the General Confederation of Italian Labor, and a quarter of a century ago one of the most original thinkers of Europe's New Left. The tall, elegant Trentin sounded true to his past as he spoke intelligently of "the conquest of the new spaces of freedom by the subordinated workers, by the citizens, by all free subjects." The snag was that his speech had no apparent connection with the battles being fought at the congress, the realignment of the party or the prospective alliance with Craxi.

I gained a better grasp of the need for duality when I talked that evening to a young college lecturer, a woman from a solidly Communist family who now finds herself on the fringes of the party. "My mother feels really let down," she said. All that we got, her mother thought, we got from capitalism; our own dreams are shattered. It was easy to tell her mother that capitalism gave only what it had to; it was much harder to deny the collapse of many of her ideals. The desire of many party members to see the P.C.I. play an active role in reforming Italian society is what gives Occhetto his chance. Their thirst for a project, for an alternative vision, explains why the pragmatic spokespeople for the *Sì* must also sound as if they have loftier ambitions.

Ingrao for Catharsis

While the advocates of the *Sì* had to waffle to conceal the contradictions in their arguments, their opponents refrained from pushing them to the point of provoking an open clash. Aldo Tortorella, who delivered a sort of counterreport on behalf of a *No* vote, did tell Occhetto that he could not remove "democratic centralism" through the door and then bring it back through the window: If the majority had the right to rule, the minority had the right to organize in order to reverse the party line. But he did not go so far as to say, You must choose, you can't have it both ways. Both Tortorella and Alessandro Natta, a former first secretary who made a similarly passionate speech, gave the impression of deliberately steering away from a collision course.

Tortorella and Natta were former members of the party establishment who refused to follow Occhetto. But the most eagerly awaited spokesman for the *No* was Pietro Ingrao, the veteran leader of the party's left wing. Presenting the closing argument for his side, Ingrao spoke in a gritty voice, visibly containing his emotion. That the world has changed and that the party has to do likewise is obvious. But the divergences begin with the question of what is to be done. Ingrao attacked the timidity of the party line in foreign affairs, especially on Germany. Why talk vaguely of the future dissolution of blocs instead of putting the issues of demilitarization and neutrality on the agenda?

He then moved on to the changes in contemporary society, the commercialization of the world of science and information, the altered nature of work since the days of Henry Ford and of Chaplin's *Modern Times*. The old struggle had to be resumed at a new level in order "to reassert the worker's new capacity for control and self-determination." Without a new strategy and a revived movement the P.C.I. risks falling into a "subordinate collaboration" with Craxi's Socialists. Then, the intellectual taking over from the

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political fighter, Ingrao mused that, while the computer may be faster than the mind, the riches of the human spirit "cannot be measured by any yardstick of the market." He ended cryptically: "It's true there are the guardians. But it is difficult to put the world in a straitjacket. And, on reflection, these keepers, however strong and ferocious, are in the end rather stupid." The audience paused for a moment, either puzzling his meaning or thinking he had not yet finished, then burst into an extraordinary ovation. For some ten minutes people clapped, cried, chanted, hugged one another, sang "*Bandiera Rossa*" with its praise—strange under the circumstances—of *comunismo e libertà.*

Why should a hall two-thirds filled with the followers of the leadership react in this way to the spokesman for the opposition? The answer is complex, and may give us an idea of the mood of this congress and the state of the party. There was clearly an element of personal admiration for the man himself, a respect for the prophet rather than the commissar. There was also a feeling of gratitude that he had preserved unity: Ingrao urged people to join the P.C.I., not to leave it (which makes sense, for the leaders of the *No* fear that their followers will now quit the party). And there was affection for the past, a note of nostalgia. Funeral rites may not have been entirely absent from this celebration, but there was something else at work: the half-conscious wish to be an agent of history, the desire among most of Occhetto's followers to believe in the more radical part of his contradictory pronouncements.

The next morning Occhetto had the last word in the debate. He made some concessions—on Germany, on the right of organized dissent—and was rewarded with a standing ovation of his own. But his was more organized, more rhythmic, more routine. It matched the spontaneity of the previous night only when he embraced Ingrao. Thus, the congress closed with an ambiguous image.

Divided They Stand

Before the congress there were rumors that Occhetto, having made an alliance with the right wing of the party, would need the backing of the left to redress the balance. But such theories can now be discounted. Occhetto has made a strategic decision to seek an alliance with Craxi and is strong enough to carry the party with him. Whether the P.C.I. will be split in the process is harder to answer. The party now has a full agenda. It is supposed to open negotiations rapidly with intellectuals and anybody else who wants to talk. It is also due to hold a special convention to define its new program, and then to stage a new congress to approve its reincarnation—in principle before the end of the year. Will Occhetto and his colonels take advantage of their position to ram the whole process through? Will the now-organized opposition accept the line, resist, or choose to split rather than yield?

The so-called Pintor affair, which created a stir during the congress, provides some clues. The morning after Occhetto's first report, Luigi Pintor, co-editor of *Il Manifesto*, wrote a scathing attack accusing the party leader of doing nothing to attract his political opponents. Twenty years ago, Pintor went on, we were three (an allusion to Pintor himself, Aldo Natoli and Rossana Rossanda, Central Committee members who were kicked out of the party because of their link with *Il Manifesto*); now it is a third of the party, and if Occhetto proceeds in this way, he will be responsible for a deep division. Next day the party paper, *L'Unità*, and a number of P.C.I. leaders and sympathizers launched a violent attack on Pintor for being divisive, reminding him that his election as an "Independent Left" deputy had depended on Communist support. The proud Pintor promptly resigned as deputy and the whole affair hit the headlines. The episode was a reminder that the party apparatus has not entirely abandoned its old habits: Moving to the right does not necessarily mean becoming more liberal and democratic.

There are other historical echoes in the Pintor case. If so few people followed the *Manifesto* group twenty years ago, it was largely because their mentor, Pietro Ingrao, opted for unity. Does his embrace of Occhetto suggest that he will do so once again when it comes to the crunch? Or is he now, as people close to him say, determined to stick to his line,

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whatever the consequences? My own guess is that communism as an idea may yet have a future in Italy, but that the days of the P.C.I. as an instrument of the radical transformation of society are over. In beautiful Bologna, with its walls mellowed by the centuries, a world was coming ambiguously to an end. □

Conversion

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

labor productivity (measured by the dollar value of output per hour of workers in the nonagricultural business sector) rose by 24 percent, approximately one-third of the gain between 1948 and 1968.

In every year between 1894 and 1970 the United States ran a trade surplus—exporting more goods than it imported. In 1971 these surpluses turned into deficits. By 1987 the foreign trade deficit hit a peak of $170 billion, more than 160 percent above the record level set only four years earlier. "Made in the U.S.A." once meant well-made, high-quality, reasonably priced goods produced by industrial workers earning the highest wages in the world. Now U.S. trade deficits reflect in part a decline in quality and productive efficiency.

In 1982 the American economy plunged into its worst economic downturn since the Great Depression. By the end of the 1980s, however, the unemployment rate fell to more tolerable levels. Inflation remained well below the double-digit rates of the late 1970s. And the real gross national product grew more than 25 percent between 1982 and the third quarter of 1988, when it passed the $4 trillion mark. Supposedly, the country is in the midst of the strongest economic recovery since World War II.

But that is an illusion. We have merely pumped up the economy with a huge infusion of public and private debt. This facade of prosperity is not based on the efficient production that drove the economy's remarkable growth throughout much of America's industrial history—an expansion whose benefits were spread among the population rather than going to one small segment of it at the expense of all the rest.

Between fiscal 1980 and fiscal 1989 the national debt more than tripled, from $914 billion to $2.8 trillion. In less than three years after 1985, the federal government added nearly $780 billion in debt, an amount equal to more than 85 percent of the *total* national debt as of 1980. State and local government debt, and the private debt of households and nonfinancial institutions, soared from nearly $3 trillion in 1980 to more than $6 trillion by September 1988. Between 1980 and 1987 the United States went from being the world's largest creditor nation, to whom $106 billion was owed, to being the world's largest debtor nation, with a net international debt approaching $400 billion.

All that borrowing served temporarily to paper over deep-seated economic problems, giving us a fleeting reprieve. But it has also created a "bubble of debt" on top of a steadily eroding economic base, adding the possibility of a sudden collapse to the continuing long-term deterioration in American economic performance.

The Forces of Real Recovery

Despite these very serious problems, the end of the 1980s has brought some cause for optimism. Three powerful political forces have begun to develop that may just push the United States in the direction it needs to go to turn this downbeat picture around: the growing pressure to balance the federal budget, the increasing prominence of the competitiveness issue and the extraordinary opportunities created by *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Balancing the Budget. The enormous increase in the national debt between 1980 and 1989 was clearly the result of the Reagan Administration's tax cuts combined with a military spending binge. Had the borrowing been in support of a major program of public investment in infrastructure, education and the like, it would not have been a great problem. Productive investment would have eventually generated more than enough additional wealth to pay back the borrowed money with interest. But unproductive use of the money for military expansion means that it must now be paid back out of existing wealth—and that will be painful.

Annual military budgets more than doubled during that period, and this accelerated spending accounted for more than 50 percent of the increase in national debt. The military-driven debt, in turn, led to a near tripling of the annual net interest on that debt, from $53 billion to $152 billion. Looked at differently, without this explosive increase in the national debt, the interest savings alone would have taken us two-thirds of the way to balancing the federal budget.

In the 1987 fiscal year, spending on the military and interest on the national debt accounted for almost 90 percent of all the federal income tax revenues collected from both individuals and corporations [see sidebar on page 524]. In the absence of draconian tax increases or slashes in social programs greater than the public was willing to accept from the previous administration, significant cuts in the military budget are highly likely. Without them it will be impossible to balance the federal budget in the foreseeable future. This is not a question of ideology or political preference. It is simply a matter of fiscal reality.

Competitiveness. The fiscal pressures for cutbacks in military spending reinforce demands for the changes that are needed to rebuild American industrial competitiveness. More than forty years of high military spending has diverted

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from civilian industry the resources that are critical to efficient, competitive production, including roughly 30 percent of the nation's engineers and scientists and a comparable portion of its capital. Engineers and scientists trained to design and produce for cost-minimizing in civilian industry are the key to developing technology for better product designs and more efficient methods of production; capital allows these innovations to be put into use on the factory floor. The long-term drain of these resources has undermined the ability of U.S.-based factories to maintain competitive position, especially relative to those nations (Japan and Germany, for example) whose commercial industries are only lightly burdened by that drain.

To revitalize the competitiveness of American industry we must attack the structural causes of inefficiency. This can be accomplished in a solid, long-term way only by an infusion of capital and technical talent. That means redirecting a significant fraction of these critical resources from military to civilian research and production.

Perestroika and Glasnost. The remarkable changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe offer great promise of substantial arms reduction. We have seen only a beginning, but it is a hopeful one. The prospect of a 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear arsenals—even talk of the total elimination of nuclear weapons within a decade or two—has moved from the realm of an impossible dream to the real world of negotiations. Progress toward reduction of conventional forces has begun.

Each of the three forces we have been discussing has its counterpart in the Soviet Union, which has finally admitted that it too is plagued by out-of-control budget deficits. The military's diversion of critical resources from the country's civilian industrial base has played no small part in rendering those industries hopelessly inefficient. At the same time, the attention of the nations of Western Europe has turned increasingly to economic integration rather than military adventurism. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, this surely diminishes the threat to their security.

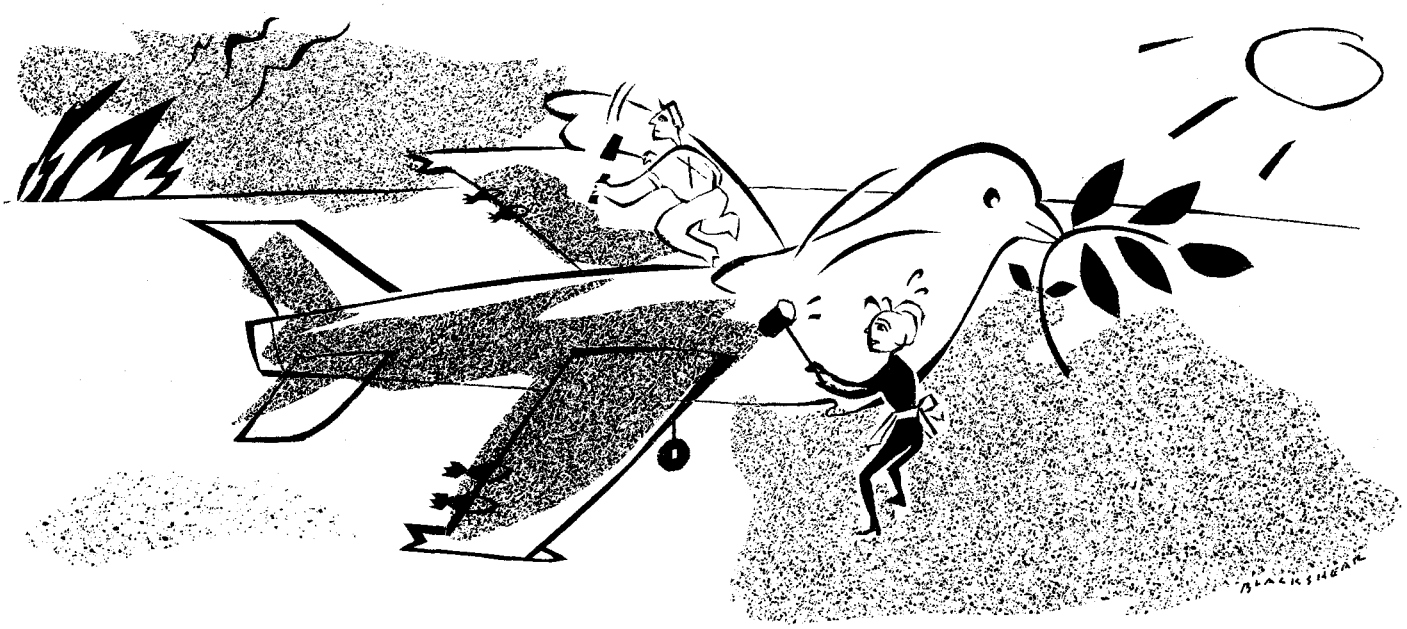
The convergence of these three forces in both the United States and the Soviet Union has made large-scale demilitarization an increasingly practical, attainable goal. And large-scale demilitarization is just what is needed to free sufficient resources for building healthy, growing economies in both nations.

Obstacles to Conversion

Nevertheless, there are strong institutional and ideological barriers to implementation of economic conversion. The most prominent of these are the managements in central government offices and the private firms that are dependent on the military economy. Government departments are ordinarily viewed as "bureaucracies"; however, the central management in the Defense Department that controls the operations of 35,000 prime contracting establishments is, functionally, a central administrative office. This central administrative office is probably the largest such entity in the world and performs the same functions as similar offices in large corporations.

Furthermore, the management of the Pentagon's central office controls the largest block of finance capital in the hands of any single American management. Every year since 1951 the new capital made available to the Defense Department has exceeded the combined net profits of all U.S. corporations. The top managers in the Pentagon and their subordinates are endowed with the usual managerial imperative to maintain and enlarge their decision-making power. Accordingly, they have consistently opposed all proposals for economic conversion planning in the United States.

This managerial opposition to conversion planning is not specific to any particular social structure, political ideology or management technique. Thus the managers of the U.S. military economy perform their command function via allocation of money resources, while those of the Soviet Union perform the command function by direct physical resource pre-emption and allocation. The results in each case are similar: pre-emption of major resources from civilian production and powerful pressures for operating in an unproductive, cost-maximizing way.



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The work force and surrounding communities of factories, bases and laboratories that serve the military are another institutional barrier to economic conversion. In the United States 3.5 million men and women work in the military industry. An additional 1 million are employees of the Pentagon, including civilian workers on bases, and there are 2 million in the armed forces. For these 6.5 million people and their families and surrounding communities, the military-serving facilities have been the principal sources of jobs for most of their lives. The skills they have developed and the relationships with which they are familiar are powerful incentives to continue working for the military. The people in such enterprises know that even the appearance of an interest in the idea of economic conversion would bring the disfavor of the Pentagon's top managers.

The nation's organized engineering societies include large numbers of engineers beholden to the military economy. This has a significant effect on the contents of society meetings, the subject matter of journals and learned papers, and the network of contacts available for employment opportunity. At this writing no single engineering society has ventured to propose contingent conversion planning for its members as a way of coping with the possible reversal of military budget growth. In its November 1989 issue *Spectrum*, a journal of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, published a special report titled "Preparing for Peace," a serious, courageous attempt to survey the military engineers' prospects during a subsiding cold war.

Finally, there are the universities, particularly the larger ones, which have grown accustomed to receiving major R&D grants from the Defense Department and to administering major research institutions, like the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos nuclear weapons laboratories, for the Pentagon. At the same time the departments of universities that might be expected to have some connection with civilian production, the engineering and business schools, have become less production-oriented during the long cold war period. Some schools are beginning to make an effort to reestablish the importance of civilian production in their curriculums, but the emphasis is small compared with the military-oriented research activities. The universities also contain large departments and schools—such as political science and international relations—whose faculties and curriculums have focused on training cold war technicians, researchers and administrators.

For all the personnel of the military-serving institutions it

Serious Money

The share of tax dollars going to defense is much greater than commonly believed, says Paul Murphy, an independent military budget analyst. According to the Office of Management and Budget, "national defense" made up 26 percent of total spending in the fiscal 1990 budget. But Murphy believes it devoured a far larger slice of the fiscal pie.

As Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has reminded us, the Social Security trust fund doesn't really belong in the budget at all. It's paid for by payroll contributions and targeted excise taxes, not income taxes. It was first counted in the "unified" budget in 1969, in what some suspect was an effort to dilute the percentage devoured by the steep rise in military costs during the Vietnam era. If all trust funds are subtracted, national defense would make up 32 percent of the budget.

But that's not all. The creature we're stalking has many stomachs to digest the raw cash it devours. There is also military spending that O.M.B. does not identify as such. For instance, military aid to foreign governments—$6.3 billion in 1990—clearly figures into the Pentagon's strategic planning.

In the past, spending by as many as thirteen military-related agencies was counted as part of national defense. NASA alone will spend roughly $1.2 billion on military activities in 1990.

The fastest growing share of the federal budget is interest on the national debt. A sizable chunk of the debt is attributable to past military spending—just over 50 percent by Murphy's reckoning. His estimate of the military share of net interest on the national debt in 1990 is $119 billion.

If foreign military aid, NASA military spending and defense-related interest are added to the budget slice called "national defense," the 1990 military budget balloons from $296.3 billion to $423.5 billion, or 46.2 percent.

But there's still more. Most discharged armed services personnel are entitled to at least some veterans' benefits. Most of the money comes from income taxes. Murphy thinks these benefits can be legitimately counted as part of the cost of defending the country. Add them in and the military bill for 1990 climbs to $458 billion, or 50 percent of the total. If V.A. benefits are counted as past military spending, the military's share of the national debt grows to 54 percent, and 1990's military-related interest tab is $129 billion.

Even so, Murphy's estimates are conservative. He didn't count the billions of income tax dollars spent on pensions for former military people and the Defense Department's civilian retirement program. Nor did he include allocations for the Coast Guard and the merchant marine, impact aid payments to communities that host military bases or funding for intelligence agencies that may not show up in the Pentagon account.

No doubt the O.M.B. would challenge Murphy's figures. But the agency's numbers conceal the true cost of defense.

ROBERT CWIKLIK

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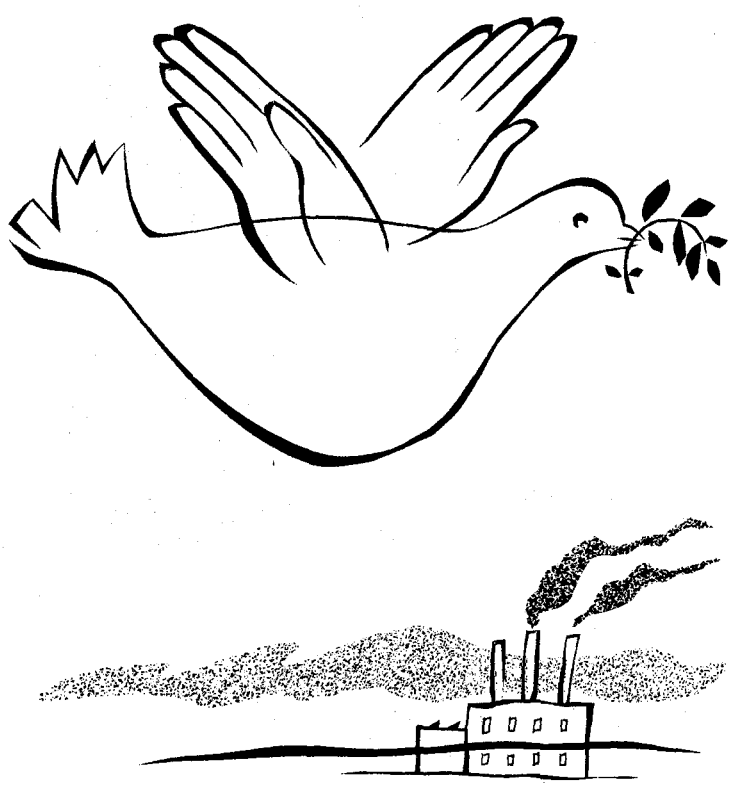
is significant that the knowledge for performing their tasks comprises their intellectual capital and work skills. Therefore a change to a civilian economy entails the obsolescence of intellectual capital and the necessity for learning new skills.

Alongside these direct economic ties to the military at the universities there are a number of ideological commitments that play an important part in sustaining support for military institutions. Among economists, for example, it is generally accepted that money equals wealth, that the proper measure of economic product is in money terms, that the money value of an economic activity denotes its value independent of the usefulness of the product. Military goods and services are thus counted as additions to real wealth despite the fact that they do not contribute to the central purpose of the economy—to provide the material standard of living. They add neither to the present standard of living (as do ordinary consumer goods) nor to the future standard of living by increasing the economy's capacity to produce (as do industrial machinery, equipment and the like).

Since the Great Depression, economists, and indeed the larger society, have defined the central problem of the U.S. economy as the maintenance of proper levels of market demand, and thereby of income and employment. From this perspective, expenditures that generate market demand are critical, regardless of the nature of the product. A consensus formed that military spending is the best way to accomplish this effect. Thus, most economics textbooks do not differentiate between firms producing military goods and civilian enterprises.

From these assumptions it is a short step to the idea that the United States is uniquely capable of affording guns *and* butter for an indefinite period of time. This belief has facilitated the acceptance of sustained negative trade balances and spreading incompetence in U.S. manufacturing. Large subsidies to the American standard of living in the form of trade imbalances are therefore considered normal, while the role of the military economy in causing a collapse of production competence is ignored. Nevertheless, domestic economic problems and international political changes compel attention to the feasibility of economic conversion.



The Process of Economic Conversion

The ideology of the free-market economy argues that the labor and facilities no longer needed in the military-serving sector will flow smoothly and efficiently toward an expanding civilian sector once military spending is cut. The market will take care of the transition. There is no need for special attention and certainly no need for advance preparation.

But this isn't true. The world of military industry is very different from the world of commercial industry. For one thing, military-serving firms do not operate in anything like a free-market environment. In the military production system, the nature, quantity and price of output are not determined by impersonal market forces. They are set by the interaction of the Pentagon's central planners and the managers of the military-industrial firms. Military industry, unlike any civilian industry, has only one customer—the Defense Department. Even when military firms sell to other nations, they typically sell products initially designed and produced to satisfy the needs of the Defense Department and can sell abroad only with its permission. Furthermore, the vast majority of defense contracts are negotiated rather than awarded through true price-competitive bidding.

More important, competition in the civilian commercial marketplace provides a crucial element of cost discipline that is largely absent in military industry. In practice, most major military contractors operate on a cost-plus basis, being reimbursed for whatever they have spent plus a guaranteed profit. In such an environment, there are no real penalties for inefficient production. In fact, company revenues can be increased by jacking up costs. Such cost escalation would spell bankruptcy for firms operating in a free market.

The sales function of a typical civilian company involves dealing with large numbers of potential customers, ranging from perhaps a few dozen for firms purveying industrial products to millions for consumer goods producers. For military firms the sales function means knowing the Armed Services Procurement Regulations, developing contacts within the Defense Department and being adept at lobbying. The most crucial job of managers in civilian industries is keeping costs down while producing good quality products. Managers in defense firms need pay relatively little attention to cost, but they must try to manufacture products capable of operating under extreme conditions while delivering every possible increment of performance.

It is not a question of one kind of management being easier or harder than the other. The point is that they are very different. It is simply not reasonable to expect a manager used to operating in one of these worlds to perform efficiently in the other without undergoing substantial

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retraining and reorientation. That takes time and will not happen automatically. Civilian firms may well prefer to hire inexperienced civilian managers instead of facing the costs involved in retraining an experienced military manager for civilian work. The same consideration holds for engineers and scientists—the other main component of the military-serving labor force—who would require substantial retraining and reorientation.

The products of military industry are notorious for their poor reliability, despite requirements that only components meeting stringent military specifications be used. These components are not only remarkably costly but also certified to withstand extraordinary extremes of shock, temperature and so on. Poor reliability is an unavoidable consequence of the increasing complexity of military weaponry. Thus sophisticated military aircraft have been in repair a third or more of the time. That's bearable when the cost of maintenance is not a limiting factor. But city transportation systems cannot accept vehicles that are "not mission capable" a third of the time. Hence, the retraining of military-experienced engineers and managers is an essential aspect of economic conversion. Of course, the physical facilities and equipment of military industry will require modification as well.

Planning for Conversion

Advanced contingency plans for moving into alternative civilian-oriented activity could help carry the nation smoothly through the transition to a demilitarized economy and protect militarily dependent communities against the considerable economic disruption they will otherwise experience. The transformation of a facility and its work force to civilian production must be planned locally, by those who know them best—not by distant "experts." Even at its best such a planning process will be lengthy. A great many details must be worked through to insure that the transition is smooth and that the resulting facility and work force are properly restructured to be an efficient civilian producer, able to operate profitably without continuing subsidies. It is long past time to get this process under way.

A bill now before Congress, House Resolution 101, would institutionalize a nationwide system of highly decentralized contingency planning for economic conversion at every military facility in the United States. The resolution, called the Defense Economic Adjustment Act, sponsored by Representative Ted Weiss, would require the establishment of labor-management Alternative Use Committees at every military facility with 100 or more people. These local committees would be empowered to draw up detailed technical and economic plans for shifting to viable alternative civilian activity. Funds would be provided for services such as income support, continued health insurance and pension benefits during any actual transition resulting from military cutbacks.

There are two reasons why military-industry workers

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should be specially protected, even though workers in other industries are not. First, such protection is vital to breaking the hold of the politically powerful "jobs" argument, which raises the specter of lost jobs to constituents and thus damage to the political careers of representatives who vote against any military programs. The second is that the special obstacles to conversion of military industry must be overcome to allow the infusion of resources into civilian activity that will ultimately revitalize the whole of U.S. industry, and not just the prospects of converted defense workers and firms.

By moving military-sector resources into profitable civilian activity through a carefully planned process of economic conversion, the nation can break its decades-long addiction to military spending and build a stronger and more secure economic base. Without such a revitalization of civilian production, it is difficult to see how America can climb out of the deep hole of production incompetence, deficit and debt it dug for itself in the 1980s and reverse the deterioration of its economic performance and competitive position in the global marketplace.

Conversion to What?

What could the 6.5 million employees of the military-serving institutions do for a living beyond their work for the Pentagon? There are three major areas of work that could be done by these people. The first is repairing the American infrastructure. This includes building and repairing roads, railroads and bridges; constructing waste disposal plants; cleaning up toxic and nuclear wastes; erecting new housing to make up for the enormous shortfall in construction and repair during the past decades; refurbishing libraries, public school buildings, university facilities and so on. In New York City alone there are 1,000 public school buildings, of which 83 percent require major repairs. Bridges and highways have been crumbling for want of proper maintenance, and the country's railroads are more like the Toonerville Trolley of cartoon fame than modern high-speed facilities. The cost of repairing the infrastructure could amount to more than $5 trillion. The work to be done would surely extend over several decades.

House Resolution 101 includes a provision for a Cabinet-level council that would be charged with encouraging state, city and county governments to prepare capital budgets for renovating the public works and services under their jurisdiction. If carried out, this would set in motion a thoroughly decentralized set of nationwide planning operations for projects that would have employment needs beyond the size and capabilities of the existing work force.

The second area of new work for the converted military labor force would involve producing in the United States many of the products that are now imported. There is no law of nature or economics that prevents factories in the United States from once again becoming competent producers of shoes, for example; we now import 80 percent of our supply. An infusion of fresh investment and talent into the machine-tool industry could restore our former ability to produce high-quality machinery. The United States now buys 50 percent of its new machine tools from Japan, Germany and South Korea.

The third area is new ideas, a sphere in which American engineers and technicians once excelled.

A uniquely large proportion of engineers and administrators are employed in the military-serving industries. For those occupations some special conversion prospects will surely be in order. Teachers of mathematics and the sciences are in notoriously short supply in American high schools and junior colleges. The major teachers colleges could design appropriate programs for training some of these men and women to teach the young, an activity that would have long-range benefits for society. Many engineers could be retrained as civil engineers to work in American communities. The addition of an engineer to a city's or a town's staff would mean a substantial improvement in the ability of local governments to cope with the array of public works that are their responsibility.

Collecting the Peace Dividend

Apart from the planning of economic conversion, its actual execution will be heavily dependent on the timing and the size of the peace dividend that would result from the reduction of military budgets. Savings can be expected from two sources: first, and early on, reduction of certain military activities (such as base closings and elimination of marginal weapons programs) at the initiative of the federal government; second, de-escalation of military spending and the size of the military-serving institutions as a result of international agreements setting in motion a programmed reduction of the arms race. The first of these approaches could yield possible savings of several billion dollars annually. *The New York Times* editorialized on March 8 in favor of weapons and force cuts starting with $20 billion per year and reaching $150 billion annually after ten years. That would bring down annual military spending to a level comparable to that in President Carter's budgets. But a thoroughgoing military de-escalation would require international disarmament agreements.

A program for reversing the arms race was laid out by President Kennedy in April 1962 in a document called "Outline of Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World." This plan called for a ten-year period to accomplish a significant reversal of the arms race among nations and the parallel establishment of international institutions for inspecting the disarmament process, for coping with international conflict by nonmilitary means and for developing an international peacekeeping force. If this blueprint is implemented, a ten-year cumulative peace dividend of $1.5 trillion is within reach. That is the magnitude of resources needed to start serious economic conversion and to rebuild the infrastructure and industry of the country. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Endless Autumn

NICOLAUS MILLS

The headline for Adelphi University's full-page *New York Times* ad was apologetic: "Why the Most Interesting University in the Country Stoops So Low as to Advertise Itself." The apology was understandable. Colleges and universities aren't supposed to sell themselves. They are supposed to present themselves—at most in user-friendly fashion—so their future students can make an informed choice.

What Adelphi was doing with its hard sell was, however, similar to what most colleges do now: offer themselves with a Madison Avenue format and treat their students as customers who need to be won over. The change—and with it the rise of firms specializing in institutional promotion and market research—is hardly surprising. Since the baby-boom days of the 1960s the pool of college-age students has shrunk, while in the past ten years the price of a college education has risen by 118 percent at private universities and 82 percent at public ones.

Nonetheless, for most colleges a full-page *New York Times* ad remains too blatant. They prefer a forty- to sixty-page booklet—the viewbook, *a k a* the register or the bulletin. Bigger than a prospectus, smaller than a catalogue, college viewbooks circulate in the millions. For every freshman it accepts, a college often sends out fifty viewbooks. At big schools an annual printing of 100,000 is common.

On these grounds alone, the college viewbook is worth taking seriously. We can no more afford to ignore its mix of rhetoric and social motive than we can that of other mass-circulation publications such as *The Official Boy Scout Handbook* or *The Red Cross First Aid Manual*. But circulation alone is not what makes college viewbooks important. Although the immediate audience is college freshmen and their parents (the paying customers), no other publication so represents college culture as colleges wish it to be seen.

What this idealized picture means in 1990 begins with the college code word of the 1980s—diversity. "Diversity is the hallmark of the Harvard/Radcliffe experience," the first sentence in the Harvard University register declares. "Diversity is the virtual core of University life," the University of Michigan bulletin announces. "Diversity is rooted deeply in the liberal arts tradition and is key to our educational philosophy," Connecticut College insists. "Duke's 5,800 undergraduates come from regions which are truly diverse," the Duke University bulletin declares. "Stanford values a class that is both ethnically and economically diverse," the Stanford University bulletin notes. Brown University says, "When asked to describe the undergraduate life at The College—and particularly their first strongest impression of Brown as freshmen—students consistently bring up the same topic: the diversity of the student body."

What diversity means in this context is that a college is doing its best to abolish the idea that it caters to middle-class whites. By focusing on diversity rather than desegregation or some made-up word like "de-eliting," the college sees itself getting a bargain. It doesn't have to own up to a history of bigotry, and by focusing on the variety that diversity implies, the college avoids the charge of social engineering that it would be subject to if it said it was seeking more minority students.

In an era when racial tensions are on the rise and the Supreme Court has put affirmative action beyond the reach of all but the most determined employer, any institution that insists on diversity is noteworthy. In our colleges and universities, faith in diversity is much more than a political stance, however. It is also an expression of faith in their own transforming power, in their ability to create a special world. Connecticut College puts this specialness most extravagantly when it declares that its students are led into "another universe of discourse." Indeed, in 1990 it's impossible for any leading college to imagine that its students won't, as Oberlin College notes with ten banner headlines in the first five pages of its bulletin, "THRIVE."

What thriving means in this context is exemplified by the boxed cameo portraits of superstudents (for example, the Stanford Rhodes scholar who aids battered women and intends to play basketball on the Oxford team) that every viewbook seems to feature. If ever a student undertook a project that failed, it is never mentioned. Nor is there ever a hint that a project might have caused a student to see humanity less hopefully.

Above all, there is never an indication that students don't mature on schedule. While even in the Ivy League there is a difference between a Columbia University, which requires its students to take a core curriculum, and a Brown, which emphasizes that it has no core curriculum, the guiding assumption in all cases is that by their junior year at the latest students will find their academic path. As Princeton University, which emphasizes the independent work its juniors and seniors do, notes in its viewbook, "A first-rate education is not something that happens to you, but rather is something you yourself make happen." Never in any viewbook do we get a senior who confesses he coasted through too many courses, nor does any student ever worry that four years of study may make a 9-to-5 job unbearably dull.

What underlies this faith in the college experience is never systematically argued in any viewbook, but it is not hard to find the philosophical source: It is the virtues of a liberal education. "A liberal education must be the thread that weaves a pattern of meaning into the total learning experience," Brown president Vartan Gregorian writes. "By stressing the value of a liberal education we encourage students to seek the infinitely precious affirmation of their most authentic selves," Dartmouth College president James Freedman states. "A liberally educated person is 'liberated' to the extent that education has deepened his or her capacity and inclination for clear thought, analytical reasoning, comprehension and empathy," Wesleyan University's dean of admission declares.

The result is that while viewbooks may read differently (less so if copy as well as graphics have been turned over to a Madison Avenue firm), they remain remarkably similar in structure. Almost all contain the following:

Nicolaus Mills teaches at Sarah Lawrence College, where he served on the admissions committee for three years. He is currently editing a collection of essays, Culture in the Age of Money: The Legacy of the 1980s, *due out this fall from Ivan R. Dee Publishers.*

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The Melting-Pot Ideal. In addition to their viewbooks, most colleges now have special brochures for minority students. But in the viewbook itself nothing is more important to convey than a picture of students of all races mixing, and doing so in approximately equal numbers of men and women (a problem at single-sex schools that have only marginally turned coed). The result is the ubiquitous posed group photo in which white, black, Asian and Latino students look into the camera and grin like crazy. The photo, if the college can afford it, will be in color, and if not on the cover of its viewbook, within the first few pages. Significantly, candid photos are not used to make the same point.

The Endless Autumn Motif. Falling yellow leaves at Indiana University. Falling red leaves at Smith College. In the college viewbook autumn never seems to stop. At its simplest the point is that college is a beautiful place. But the real function of the endless autumn motif is to convince students that college is a timeless world where they can forget the day-to-day pressures of ordinary life. Even at Columbia, where campus guards have been attacked by New York City muggers, the viewbook makes the school sound like a utopia. "No traffic rumbles across its paths, no skyscrapers skewer its sunshine, no urban tumult disturbs its placid terraces," the Columbia viewbook declares before going on to conclude that the "Columbia landscape is a classic collegiate stage."

The Small-but-Big Paradox. Its aim is to convince students they can have the best of two possible worlds without sacrificing anything. Wesleyan declares that it "brings together the best features of the liberal arts college and the large university." Duke, with 5,800 undergraduate students in contrast with Wesleyan's 2,600, describes its size as "midway between that of small liberal arts colleges and larger research universities." The key here is for the viewbook never to pose the kinds of questions that make the difference between bigness and smallness clear: What percentage of their students do teachers see in office hours? Could an unrecruited athlete expect to play on a varsity team? Do teachers give out written student evaluations or only grades?

The Admissions Fudge. Its intention is to assure prospective students that there is no conflict between selecting a freshman class on merit and opting for a diversity that means, as one admissions dean put it, "We take in more in the groups with weaker credentials and make it harder for those with stronger credentials." There is no attempt to explain why strong board scores will benefit some minorities (blacks) more than other minorities (Asians), or why some minorities (Italian-Americans) are of interest to almost nobody. The result is the kind of admissions statement that, like the following one by Stanford, could mean anything: "The long and labored evaluation process cannot be reduced to a quantifiable formula. . . . While we are focusing on each individual, we also are mindful of putting together a freshman class that cuts across a number of dimensions. Consequently, many factors enter into the process over which individual candidates have no control."

For colleges, even the leading ones, there would of course be a price to pay for turning out a candid viewbook. Harvard, which insists that "good teaching and scholarship go hand in hand," would have to explain why the winners of its 1986 and 1987 Levenson Award for Outstanding Teaching were both rejected for tenure. Yale University, which in its bulletin stresses a folksy concern for student life (you can get Cap'n Crunch for breakfast), would have to explain why it forced clerical employees with an average salary of $13,318 to go through a bitter ten-week strike in 1984 just to get union recognition and improved pay. Stanford, which advertises its social concern with a picture of folk singer Joan Baez at a Stanford antiapartheid rally, would have to explain why so many of its minority students saw its required Western culture courses as racist.

The irony is that in college publications sent to alumni, candor on controversial subjects is usual. In the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* one can read a harrowing account of the rape of a student, and the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* carried a series of articles on the racial confrontations that have made Dartmouth national news. Indeed, the assumption our leading colleges make is that the only way to keep the support of students and alumni is to come clean about their troubles. Where they draw the line is with prospective freshmen and their parents.

The closest any viewbook comes to being candid is at Williams College, where the prospectus in its between-the-pages inserts offers such information about the Williams freshman class as the percentage who admit they cheated on a high

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school test. But even in the Williams viewbook (yearly cost, $100,000) candor is primarily a tactic, part of an overall anti-hype strategy. In the final analysis the viewbooks of our leading colleges are a sad performance, made sadder still by the fact that, given what it can cost to visit a far-off school, the viewbook remains the most democratic mechanism a college has for reaching new students. □

The Teacher as Learner

HERBERT KOHL

LIVES ON THE BOUNDARY. *By Mike Rose. The Free Press. 255 pp. $24.95. Paper (Penguin) $8.95.*

"To his life as a whole he was a consenting, contracting party and partner from the moment he was born to the moment he died," wrote Henry Adams in his autobiography. "Only with that understanding—as a consciously assenting member in full partnership with the society of his age—had his education an interest to himself or to others." Though the conditions of Mike Rose's birth and the nature of his family background could not have been more different from Adams's, the personal educational voyage Rose describes in *Lives on the Boundary*, because it involves assent, full partnership and engagement with central issues of the society of our age, is of interest to us. It is also a wonderful story that he must have enjoyed telling.

Rose was born in Chicago and, when he was 7, moved with his Italian immigrant parents to the south side of Los Angeles not far from Watts. Rose's story is not a Horatio Alger tale; his parents never escaped poverty, nor did his journey from south Los Angeles to his present position as associate director of the U.C.L.A. writing programs bring him wealth. His tale is rather a moral adventure that turns back on itself as it relates how he moved out of the south side to U.C.L.A. and then used what he learned to help young people develop the skills they needed to make it at the university while retaining their integrity, pride and cultural dignity.

Mike Rose's tale begins in his harsh neighborhood and melancholy home. He describes the dead-end people he grew up with:

> I cannot recall a young person who was crazy in love or lost in work or one old person who was passionate about a cause or an idea. I'm not talking about an absence of energy—the street toughs . . . had energy. And I'm not talking about an absence of decency, for my father was a thoughtful man. The people I grew up with were retired from jobs that rub away the heart or were working hard at jobs to keep their lives from caving in or were anchorless and in between jobs and spouses or were diving headlong into a barren tomorrow: junkies, alcoholics and mean kids walking along Vermont looking to throw a punch. I developed a picture of human existence that rendered it short and brutish or sad and aimless or long and quiet with rewards like afternoon naps, the evening newspaper, walks around the block, occasional letters from children in other states.

Rose takes us from this Los Angeles neighborhood to the Catholic high school where he spent his freshman and sophomore years in "Voc Ed" classes as "a mediocre student and a somnambulent problem solver. . . . I detested Shakespeare; I got bored in history. . . . I fooled around in class and read my books indifferently—the intellectual equivalent of playing with your food."

Fortunately one of his teachers discovered that Rose's junior high school grades, which were high, had been mixed up with those of another student named Rose. It turned out that Mike Rose belonged in college prep, not Voc Ed, so he was transferred from one educational world to another at the beginning of his junior year. That was the first boundary that Rose crossed: He was now expected to learn.

In the college prep track Rose crossed a second boundary when he was discovered and taken on by an English teacher, Jack MacFarland, whom he describes as "a beatnik who was born too late." MacFarland, excited about poetry, ideas and life, opened up new worlds to Rose. He also helped Rose get a scholarship to Loyola University in L.A. and cross over into the academic world. There Rose found other teachers who cared about

Herbert Kohl collaborated with Judith Kohl on The Long Haul, *an autobiography of Myles Horton, to be published this month by Doubleday.*

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him and nurtured his education. At Loyola he began to write poetry and took advantage of his new access to the pleasures of literature and philosophy. Rose pays these teachers tribute and also describes his own current work at U.C.L.A. when he says:

> To live your early life on the streets of South L.A.—or Homewood or Spanish Harlem or Chicago's South Side or any one of hundreds of other depressed communities—and to journey up through the top levels of the American educational system will call for support and guidance at many, many points along the way. You'll need people to guide you into conversations that seem foreign and threatening. You'll need models, lots of them, to show you how to get at what you don't know. You'll need people to help you center yourself in your own developing ideas. You'll need people to watch out for you.

Throughout *Lives on the Boundary* Rose focuses on the role of caring teachers in the lives of students who live on the boundaries between classes and cultures. These teachers must watch out for students who try to cross over without losing self-respect or becoming alienated from their own families and culture.

It is important to look more closely at what it takes to be a caring teacher who works on the boundary lines. What are your obligations, and what strengths do you need in order to watch out for students on the boundary? These are crucial questions for all teachers who work with poor children and with children of victimized cultures in our society, whether East Asian, African-American, Latino or Appalachian. Reading Rose, I realized that what I've been doing most of my teaching life is struggling to help youngsters who are marginalized by the majority society acquire the skills to function within that society while maintaining their integrity and continuing to honor their roots.

Being a caring teacher on the boundary has its problems. Those were raised a few years ago in a forceful and troubling way by Lisa Delpit, a professor of education at Morgan State College, in a *Harvard Education Review* article titled "Skills and Other Dilemmas of a Progressive Black Educator" (November 1986). Delpit describes her experience teaching in a racially mixed open public school in Philadelphia:

> My white students zoomed ahead. They worked hard at their learning stations. They did amazing things with books and writing. My black students played the games; they learned how to weave; and they threw the books around the learning stations.

Delpit concludes from her experience that "the 'open-classroom movement,' despite its progressive intentions, faded in large part because it was not able to come to terms with the concerns of poor and minority communities." She asks whether progressive, open education is relevant for African-American children. This is a hard question for open educators like myself, whose identity involves teaching in caring and nurturing ways.

According to Delpit, poor African-American children need the skills necessary to master the standard vernacular as well as firm guidance and direction. She believes that caring teachers must insist that poor and minority students learn skills now, even if it involves boring drill and sternly enforced practice. The progressive idea that children should be provided with a rich, supportive environment and then be allowed to explore and learn at their own rate just doesn't work for poor African-American children. Delpit doesn't go so far as to suggest that progressives either stop working with these children or abandon open education. But she does challenge us to show how our ideas can produce success for them. Her challenge applies to kindergarten teachers and to people like Mike Rose who work with college students sorely in need of basic reading, writing and critical thinking skills.

Delpit's question is a crucial one for white progressives who work in poor communities. It is clear to me that the first obligation of any teacher is to insure the growth and competence of his or her students, and throwing books around the room and avoiding reading are not signs of healthy growth and certainly do not lead to competence. As Mike Rose says when describing his own teaching career in *Lives on the Boundary*, "Error marks the place where education begins." That statement applies equally to the errors students make and those teachers make. If something doesn't work it must be examined and revised. Often errors result from intelligent attempts to answer difficult questions and have within them the seeds of more useful and correct answers.

Practice must precede and override theory in the classroom, and it is sensible to work on the assumption that we don't know for sure how children learn. This is a particularly useful strategy if you are committed to rejecting the stigmatization of students caused by using labels like "at-risk" and "learning disabled." Such a method implies that if a child does not do well in one learning situation the teacher should change the pedagogy rather than label the child as deviant. Rigid adherence to particular teaching methodologies makes labeling inevitable, since there are always children who fall outside the net.

However, adjusting one's teaching techniques doesn't, and shouldn't, mean changing one's expectations or moral values. I believe that democratic functioning must be the goal of classroom activity if we are to have a democracy. I also believe that all children are capable of functioning in creative, self-motivated ways and are capable of thinking critically, expressing ideas and developing well-formed opinions. But if a child isn't self-motivated, can't sit still and won't read, progressive techniques might have to be abandoned for a while. Techniques should never be mistaken for the values they represent. Sitting a child down and focusing her or him on a book, using didactic teaching methods and a firm hand, can, as Delpit suggests, sometimes be expressions of caring. Taking children through difficult times and letting them know the skills they will need in the future is a way of watching out for them. It may be necessary in certain circumstances to begin tight in order to loosen up. I don't believe there should be a fixed rule about what practice teachers have to follow in order to be open and progressive. It's more a matter of beginning where your students are and then moving in a democratic direction.

As for skills, I believe that most drill and practice is unnecessary. However, when a skill must be mastered, it's good for students to know why and learn to grit their teeth. Those who have not mastered the standard vernacular and need to do so to survive as adults should be helped to understand they are learning a second language, and through drama, play, puzzling and sometimes sheer boring practice get the skill behind them. Mike Rose is particularly good on how to help young people who are entering college get the skills needed to function within the system without losing the spirit of free inquiry, and his words about college students have direct relevance to teaching at all levels.

Rose certainly knows the relationship of practice to theory. After he graduated, he received a graduate scholarship

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from U.C.L.A. The book describes his year there and his decision to drop out and join the teacher corps in the late 1960s. University teaching was too restrictive for him, too embedded in the university and distant from the boundaries between institutions, cultures, classes and ideas that he has obviously come to love. In the teacher corps he taught children in the Los Angeles public schools and learned from them and their families as well as from other corps members. Later he taught adult literacy, another role on the boundary, and he is currently working at U.C.L.A. with undergraduates who are having difficulty coping with the demands of the university and need to develop better writing, reading and analytic skills.

I have never read a book that portrays as beautifully the seamless and complex relationship between teacher as learner and teacher as giver. In all the experiences he shares with the reader, Rose comes across as a person fully engaged with his own learning as well as with that of his students. Yet that's not all he gives us. As the book progresses he moves from the personal to the social and discusses standards, canons of literature, styles of teaching and communication across cultures. We are left with the following image of education in a democracy, which stands alongside the classics of progressive education as a reminder of what we might become as a nation:

> We are in the middle of an extraordinary social experiment: the attempt to provide education for all members of a vast pluralistic democracy. To have any prayer of success, we'll need many conceptual blessings: A philosophy of language and literacy that affirms the diverse sources of linguistic competence and deepens our understandings of the ways class and culture blind us to the richness of those sources. A perspective on failure that lays open the logic of error. An orientation toward the interaction of poverty and ability that undercuts simple polarities, that enables us to see simultaneously the constraints poverty places on the play of mind and the actual mind at play within these constraints. We'll need a pedagogy that encourages us to step back and consider the threat of the standard classroom and that shows us, having stepped back, how to step forward to invite a student across the boundaries of that powerful room. Finally, we'll need a revised store of images of educational excellence, ones closer to egalitarian ideals—ones that

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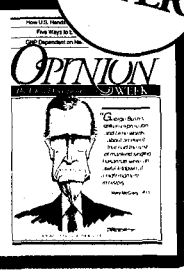

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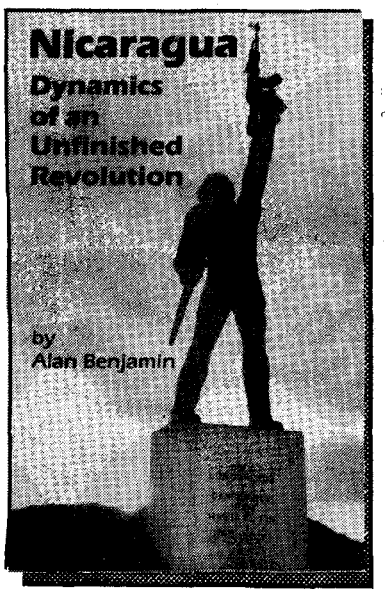

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Fight Harvard Fiercely

FELICIA KORNBLUH

HOW HARVARD RULES: Reason in the Service of Empire. *Edited by John Trumpbour. South End Press. 450 pp. $16.*

In 1969, 200 of the best, brightest and most disgruntled Harvard students took over the bastion of Brahmin supremacy, University Hall. In a matter of hours, they were forcibly ejected from the building and attacked with billy clubs by state, Cambridge and Boston police. Within days, a crowd of students so large it could fit only into the football stadium had gathered to support them.

Out of this event, and the issues that mattered most in the late 1960s, grew a thin volume called *How Harvard Rules*. It documented ties between professors and the C.I.A., Pentagon and State Department, showcasing correspondence on the Vietnam War that was "liberated" during the sit-in. It called for an end to the R.O.T.C. program on campus, an end to the repression of the student movement and the establishment of a Black Studies department.

These concerns are echoed in a new volume, *How Harvard Rules: Reason in the Service of Empire*, edited by John Trumpbour and timed to coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the original. The results are both good and bad. While *How Harvard Rules* follows up effectively on some of the issues of the 1969 generation, it suffers from some of the blind spots that plagued that group. Trumpbour and his contributors shortchange feminism, fail to grapple with the complexities inherent in First World student movements for Third World liberation and barely question the role of students and universities in broader movements for social change.

Trumpbour, a graduate student in the Harvard history department, has collected a wealth of data and views on the most powerful university in the United States. He has gathered disparate stories relating to Harvard's role in the national security state, in the corporate elite and in upper-class culture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These stories are vital background for anyone organizing, learning or teaching at Harvard, but they also have broader ramifications for the history of bourgeois ideology and class cohesion in this country, the intellectual foundations of racism and the treatment of ethnic and racial minorities and women in prestigious institutions.

The collection is marred by the pervasive and sometimes stifling presence of Trumpbour himself. Out of a total of 433 pages of text, he takes nearly 200 for himself; of twenty-six essays, three of which are brief reprints from other publications, seven carry his byline. The book betrays a lack of interest in editing and a consuming concern with making Trumpbour's own formidable voice heard. He fails to address the questions that emerge from this study of the elite university at work, and he fails to posit an overarching model for the book.

Trumpbour is harshly critical of many within the academy who call themselves left-wing:

> Of this left minority [5.8 percent of college faculty], most are in no way threatening to the system. Instead, many are self-styled Gucci Bolsheviks and deconstructionists comfortable in safe academic enclaves. Writing in an impenetrable syntax, freighted with academicisms and neologisms, many of these left thinkers belong to an intellectual class equivalent to the "legal Marxists" of Tsarist Russia, who were permitted to publish so long as their ideas did nothing to upset the prevailing hierarchy and social order.

But he never critically examines the ideas of the "Gucci Bolsheviks," nor does he explain why these ideas can never challenge the status quo ante (or describe real radicalism, presumably his own brand). And Trumpbour himself, with his frequent evocations of Marx, Lukács, Gramsci, Weber, Habermas and a mess of other thinkers, is not immune to the same charges. Consider the following discussion of Derek Bok:

Felicia Kornbluh co-founded and edited Subterranean Review, *a radical newspaper at Harvard University. She now writes and works in Washington, D.C.*

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> His conservative alumni opponents desire the heavyhanded *Kulturkampf* and *Berufsverbot* of BU's President, John Silber; but Bok outwardly prefers what Gramsci would call the velvet glove of persuasion (cooptation and moral exhortation) over hasty resort to the iron fist of coercion.

However, Jamin Raskin's well-written essay on Critical Legal Studies (he says law school changes minds "by way of the Socratic method in the day and the Platonic relationship at night, the carrot of large salaries and the stick of debt") points out that C.L.S. depends on theories derided by Trumpbour. The idea of textual indeterminacy *can* lead to nothing more than cafe chatter, but it also forms the central challenge to legal theories of "original intent": If texts, including the Constitution, are ultimately indeterminate, then there is no "original" way to interpret them. Meanings come instead from social context, and are determined by whoever has power.

Oscar Hernandez and Zachary Robinson writing on university expansion and Vladimir Escalante writing on unions consider universities to be corporations, and find that, like other corporations, they exploit their employees and their neighbors. Certainly, in the ultimately successful effort by Harvard's clerical and technical workers to win union certification from the National Labor Relations Board and affiliate with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, university administrators behaved just like other employers. Working with a unionbusting law firm, they held large meetings for supervisors and clerical workers "explaining" why a union was bad for them. In acquiring land and property, financing new construction projects and supporting gentrification, the men who rule Harvard have acted like the most arrogant real estate developers.

Having pinned down the role of Harvard-trained, Harvard-affiliated and Harvard-employed ideologues in social ills—from class inequality to technocratic governance, from involuntary sterilization to "rural pacification"—Trumpbour and his contributors never outline ways to bring about change. Trumpbour's point may be only that a sophisticated education is no guard against the evils of class, or that Harvard is much more than an ivy-covered haven from the machinations of the "real world." But he never offers the reader even this much plain-spoken analysis.

The discussion of the student movement in *How Harvard Rules* bears witness to the absence of explanation in the book. Ben Robinson makes fuzzy claims about undergraduate indoctrination through the "core" curriculum. Zachary Robinson offers a history of student activism at Harvard in the 1930s and attempts to analyze the relationship between the elite university and society in general:

> As a mass institution, the university mirrors aspects of society. Certain general social conflicts are reproduced inside the university, transforming it as they are played out. . . . The Women's Studies Department . . . [like the Afro-American Studies Department] demonstrates the will of the University's mass base to see all of itself reflected in its institutional environment.

Leaving aside the question of whether Harvard students can be considered a "mass base," Robinson at least offers a point of departure. Michael West's study of the 1972-85 divestment campaign points to the difficulties First World students encounter in their support of a Third World movement. And some links between the university and

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wider society may be read between the lines in Robert Weissman's essay on university governance and Joseph Menn's on tenure, and in pieces on sexual harassment and racism. But again, the arguments fail to cohere; the issues they raise are never treated in depth.

How Harvard Rules addresses gender and feminism inadequately. Although Trumpbour admits that "a more sustained feminist presence in the work would have been an asset," he could have easily found more female and feminist contributors. In the 1988-89 school year alone, for example, feminists gathered for meetings at the Radcliffe Union of Students (official student body of the now-submerged women's college, which receives scant mention in *How Harvard Rules*), formed a 150-member Women's Alliance, planned a "Take Back the Night" march and participated in the March on Washington for abortion rights in April 1989. A feminist newspaper, founded by an undergraduate, merged with my left-wing paper; a cadre of Women-Oriented Women! (WOW!) fled the often male-dominated Gay and Lesbian Students' Association. An attempt to reinstitute R.O.T.C. on campus, which would have obliterated one solid victory of the 1969 student strike, was opposed by an alliance of left anti-imperialists, feminist pacifists and gay women and men.

Arguably the most important recent development for Harvard-Radcliffe feminists, the undergraduate Women's Studies concentration, receives short shrift in *How Harvard Rules*. Women's Studies produces counterhegemonic, politically significant scholarship *and* serves as a training ground for feminist leaders. Women in Women's Studies lead because they know about precedents and tactics; their interest in gender-based politics has been legitimized. Academic feminists and their students often maintain their ties to political action more successfully than the "Gucci Bolsheviks." But Trumpbour denigrates Women's Studies and dismisses its chair, Olwen Hufton, as "a skilled historian who is, none the less, committed to a safe brand of feminism." Hufton may not call herself "radical"—and this word has special echoes for U.S. feminists—but, against considerable odds, she has helped build an institution of radical significance within an elite university.

Finally, *How Harvard Rules* may be too faithful to its precedent. As numerous essays in this book make clear, many of the efforts of the late 1960s and early 1970s have failed. Harvard owns more real estate than ever before. Afro-American (originally Black) Studies have been consistently underfunded. Faculty still assist the warmakers in Washington. And R.O.T.C. is once more a matter of heated debate. The most promising political efforts on campus today were barely visible in 1969. These include campus feminism and student support for labor organizing—most recently in the clerical workers' victory. *How Harvard Rules* does not fully address my generation or my gender. It slights movements that are working effectively today and offers few leads on where to head tomorrow. □

Nursing History

VANESSA NORTHINGTON GAMBLE

BLACK WOMEN IN WHITE: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950. *By Darlene Clark Hine. Indiana University Press. 264 pp. $35. Paper $12.95.*

When Mabel Keaton Staupers died in 1989 the civil rights movement lost an unheralded leader. As executive secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (N.A.C.G.N.) from 1934 to 1946, she worked to improve the status of black nurses, served as a passionate and articulate critic of racial discrimination and fought for the full integration of black women into nursing.

Staupers's indomitable courage and political adroitness were demonstrated in a well-publicized confrontation with the Surgeon General of the Army, Norman T. Kirk, who in 1945 had announced the possibility of a draft to remedy a nursing shortage within the armed forces. After his announcement, Staupers immediately rose to challenge him: "If nurses are needed so desperately why isn't the Army using colored nurses?" This action exposed the hypocrisy of the draft call and led to a groundswell of public support for the removal of the quotas that severely restricted the enrollment of capable and willing black women. Staupers's victory was significant. The end of discriminatory practices by a key American institution helped to erode longstanding beliefs about the inferiority of black health care professionals and paved the way for the integration of the American Nurses' Association.

The determined struggle of black nurses to win professional recognition, to provide health care to underserved black communities and to combat racism is the focus of Darlene Clark Hine's pioneering book, *Black Women in White*. Hine, John A. Hannah Professor of History at Michigan State University, traces the history of black nurses from the founding of the first black hospitals and nurse training schools in the 1890s to the dissolution of the N.A.C.G.N. in 1950. This history, as Hine vividly depicts it, sheds light on the development of African-American professionals and offers as well the opportunity to analyze the intersection of race and gender.

Hine chronicles the systematic racism that led to the exclusion of black health care workers and necessitated the establishment of separate hospitals, nurse training schools and professional organizations. The case of the N.A.C.G.N. is particularly illuminating. By the late 1890s white nursing leaders had begun a push to upgrade nursing education, achieve greater professional autonomy and recruit "women of better classes." These reforms led to increased professional alienation and marginality for lower-class and black women. Black nurses found that most Southern states either barred them from taking registration examinations or gave them separate examinations. They also found themselves excluded from training schools and nursing societies. These practices surely contributed to white perceptions that black nurses were inferior, and black women were viewed more as domestic servants than as professional women. Hine argues that black nurses with these barriers had no choice but to seek alternative paths for professional development. In 1908 they founded the N.A.C.G.N.

A common legacy binds Hine with the nurses she studies. The nurses insisted that black women not be left out of nursing, while she is determined that black women not be left out of American history. But Hine does more than fill in historical gaps. She raises the question, Can feminist history be written and generali-

Vanessa Northington Gamble teaches the history of medicine at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and is writing a book about the black hospital movement.

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zations about women's lives be made without taking race into account? Hine's answer is clear: "To ignore black women, however small their numbers, while endeavoring to study the experiences of women in the professions, as well as in other aspects of American life and culture, will continue to yield, at best, partial truths."

The major contribution of *Black Women in White* is Hine's demonstration that as much as white and black nurses shared the commonality of gender and a quest for professional advancement and autonomy, race proved to be the decisive and distinguishing factor in the lives of black women. African-American women had to battle derogatory white images of their worth and status, and they had to demolish exclusionary barriers that were often erected by white women. Hine makes it clear that racism made the experiences of black women different from those of white women. Her conclusion has implications for the broader issue of social activism. Broad-based feminist coalitions are impossible if the powerful impact of racism in American life is ignored or downplayed.

Hine adds her voice to the ongoing debate among African-Americans about the goal and mission of black institutions. She argues that the gains of the civil rights movement have not rendered these institutions obsolete. From its founding, the N.A.C.G.N. viewed itself as a vehicle for professional survival and integration. After black nurses began to gain entry into mainstream medical organizations, the N.A.C.G.N. voted to disband, in the belief that its activities were no longer necessary. Its optimism was short-lived; black nurses found that institutional racism persisted within the American Nurses' Association. Very few black women reached leadership positions within the A.N.A., and the organization failed to acknowledge significantly the contributions of black nurses. In 1971 black nurses established a new organization, the National Black Nurses' Association, to address their professional needs and the health care problems of the black community. Hine concludes that separate institutions and organizations controlled by black people remain powerful weapons against racism.

There are issues I wish Hine had discussed in more detail: the relationship between black nurses and other black health care workers, including physicians and nursing assistants; the factors that precipitated the establishment of the lat-

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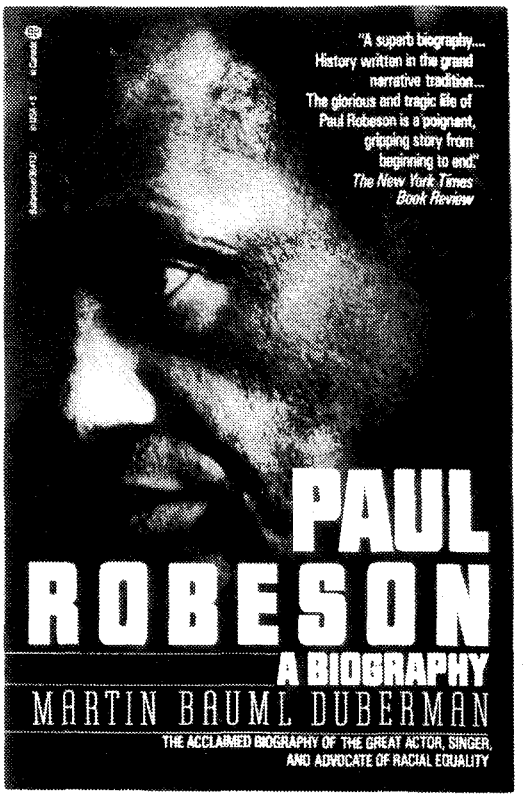
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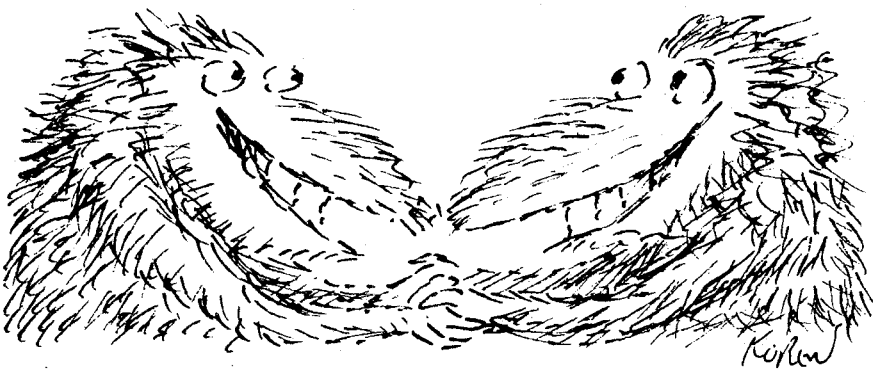

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est black nursing association; and the class differentiation within black nursing. Perhaps the last phenomenon could have been explored by examining the Black Cross Nurses of the Garvey movement, who for the most part were medically untrained. But these omissions do not detract from the significance of Hine's work. I hope this book's focus on nursing does not limit its audience, for Hine's questions about the nature and consequences of racism in American society deserve more than academic attention. □

MUSIC.

GENE SANTORO

Roots Roundup

One of the nicest side effects of the fracturing of the postwar world during the past few years has been that cultures previously relegated to the margins have become suddenly, even faddishly, visible. As the imperial order gives way to a more naked corporate order—much as the nightmares of Philip Dick, Thomas Pynchon and William Gibson foretold—cultural artifacts gain access to international markets in part because of the cash-flow imperatives of growing entertainment conglomerates. Still, music has always followed the trade routes, and for the short term, at least, we benefit. So consider the albums below—virtually all from small labels that have been laboring in the international music fields for years—as cultural dividends.

African pop has become a minor growth industry in this country. Mbaqanga stars Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens join forces once again for the rollicking *Paris-Soweto* (Polydor). Backed by the loping, infectious grooves of the Makgona Tshohle Band, Mahlathini's meaty growl and the Queens' sawtoothed, harmonized responses create an uplifting feel.

By contrast, *Beasts of No Nation* (Shanachie) is typical Fela Anikulapo-Kuti Afro-beat: part political propaganda, part prophecy, part megalomania and part musical genius. No one else—not even most of the hip-hoppers who've abused his grooves to death—has harnessed and adapted the ideas of James Brown with Fela's African finesse; his Egypt 80 orchestra locks into cross-rhythms that percolate long and hard in tunes you have to dance to.

Brazil: Forró (Rounder) bills itself as "Music for Maids and Taxi Drivers," and in sharp contrast to lambada—a synthesized concoction courtesy of Paris, international conglomerates and media hype—it is what it claims to be. From northeast Brazil, forró is a raw, zesty, choppy music that sounds like it comes from the same dance-floor family tree as South African mbaqanga, Colombian vallenata and Cajun and Creole hybrids.

Huayno Music of Peru, Vol. 1 (Arhoolie) is not just the wooden pipes you hear on subways and on tourist strips around the globe. Huayno music tosses guitars, mandolins, accordions, saxes, fiddles and flutes into a hard-driving mix that at times eerily recalls Balkan music. Collected on this disc are forty years' worth of diverse samples that range from crude to polished.

Reggae has never stopped moving, both in directions Bob Marley and the Wailers imagined and others they couldn't have foreseen. The portable truck-based sound systems that have long been the main way people learned about music in Jamaica led in the late 1960s to a practice called toasting, in which a rapper talked over the instrumental B-sides of reggae hits. That approach has evolved into the more sophisticated, sped-up sound called dancehall, even as it cross-fertilized developments in the United States (especially in Harlem and the South Bronx) to produce rap.

Reggae Jamdown: The RAS Tapes (Rykodisc) is a sprawling sampler that collects some of the vast legacy of Washington-based RAS Records, which deals primarily in Rastafarian reggae à la Marley, Tosh and Wailer [the Wailers]—although one of the joys here is Edi Fitzroy's clever cover of the Eagles' "Hotel California." More along lover's-rock lines, the compilation *Fresh Reggae Hits, Vols. 1 and 2* (Pow Wow) offers outstanding dub cuts by soulful mainstays like Half Pint, Frankie Paul and Sophia George, as well as machine-gun toaster Admiral Bailey. *Dancehall Stylee* (Profile), released here by a label that specializes in hip-hop and club music, is just what its title says, showcasing club honchos like soul singer Freddy McGregor, DJ rappers like Shelly Thunder and combination style, which scrambles singing and rapping and has been inspiring echoes in U.S. pop.

Hip-hop and reggae toasting, cousins to begin with, have become familiar partners now, especially in the hands of sharp-witted practitioners like Shinehead. So it's no surprise to find love, boasting and social consciousness winding through *Strictly Hip-Hop Reggae Fusion* (Warner Bros.) in as many different ways as there are cuts by top-notch artists from around the globe, including Jamaica's Mikey Dread and New York's Queen Latifah. And then, produced by

AN ACCIDENTAL IS A MIGRANT

In the language of bird guides
an accidental is a migrant
wrenched off course, an error
in a foreign tree. Deceived
by starlight, pushed by a wind.
Of course everyone is exiled from
his past, but gently, like an undertow
that sweeps us out to sea. Not
severed from it, not pulled up by the roots
of our hair and thrown across the world.

And so the woman who swam in
the warm lakes around Marienbad,
and watched blankets of fleshsmoke
torn on the dark Slavic pines
is an accidental. Deceived
by starlight, pushed by a wind,
she has come to languish in Florida.
Imagine, waking from a nap into
a world of heat and senescence:
a lime tree shivers, three egrets
are folding their wings on the lawn.

Michael Goodman

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dub poet Mutabaruka, there's *Woman Talk: Caribbean Dub Poetry* (Heartbeat), on which intense, revolutionary poems by women like Sister Breeze ride deep-sprung reggae riddims.

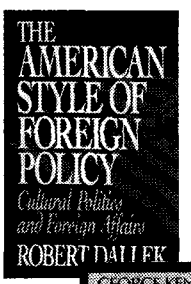
Crossbred fruit of the black and white exiles in Louisiana's bayous, Creole and Cajun musics have hit relatively big over the last couple of years, for excellent reason: Few sounds are as immediately gripping, as relentlessly easygoing and vivacious with an ingratiating twinge of pain. *Zydeco—The Early Years* (Arhoolie) gathers live tracks from the 1960s by pioneers like Willie Green and Albert Chevalier for a full-blooded portrait of the raucous form's birth. *En Bas du Chêne Vert (Under a Green Oak Tree)* (Arhoolie) features a Cajun supergroup: fiddle great Dewey Balfa, fiddle and accordion virtuoso Marc Savoy, guitarist/vocalist D.L. Menard and bassist Jerry Whiten. The only missing ingredient is a net full of crawfish.

Soldiering on in that tradition, Michael Doucet has two releases. *Beau Solo* (Arhoolie) finds him singing and playing fiddle (for these, his brother David backs him on guitar) or accordion; some tunes are authentic old-timers, others are Doucet's solid compositions. All swing and keen with the nasal lament sometimes flaring into a near-yodel that marks the form. *Live! From the Left Coast* (Rounder) captures Doucet's band Beausoleil during a peak performance at San Francisco's Great American Music Hall, and its dance-step joys—the usual happy combo of two-steps, jigs, waltzes and shuffles urged on by wheezy squeezebox and sawed fiddle—should rouse even those deep in the blues.

For folks who prefer their blues old, country and unvarnished, two reissues compiled from earlier albums will satisfy. Fred McDowell's *Mississippi Delta Blues* (Arhoolie) showcases the blues great's aching bottleneck guitar and full-throated vocals. One of the last Delta originals, McDowell's "You Gotta Move" was on the Rolling Stones' *Sticky Fingers*. Harpwielder extraordinaire Sonny Boy Williamson (Rice Miller) made his name (and inspired a host of followers) on radio's King Biscuit show; *King Biscuit Time* (Arhoolie) gathers his characteristically chugging tracks from the early 1950s as well as a radio segment for a relaxed, back-porch bluesfest.

Eastern Europe obviously doesn't have a blues tradition, but its own gypsy-influenced melancholy and Middle Eastern inflections form a kind of parallel foundation for its awakening pop sounds, as listeners to the latest release by Hungary's Marta Sebestyen and Muzsikas will discover. *Muzsikas* (Hannibal) continues in the vein of last year's acclaimed *The Prisoner's Song* (Hannibal). The shuffling bagpipes, bouzoukis, zithers, hurdy-gurdies, violas, cellos, violins and other soundmakers make up a heady, winning blend not far from neo-Celtic strains or, for that matter, some forró, as if those forms were on LSD. The crystalline yet elastic voice of Sebestyen shines a beam through the sonic turbulence.

Confused? One way to get a broader perspective and sense of context about what's emerging around the globe, musically speaking, is to tune in to a show called *Bug Radio*, syndicated nationally over some 270 stations. Hosts Brian Cullman and Sue Steward roam the planet, poking into out-of-the-way corners, sparking interesting juxtapositions—Living Colour's guitarist/songwriter Vernon Reid listening and reacting to Afro-pop guitarists on the air, for example. Imaginative, offbeat and fun, *Bug Radio* is a gem amid the dross of most American programming. Lend it your antennae. □



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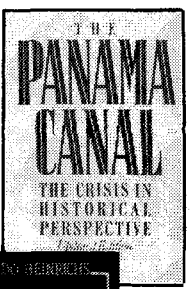

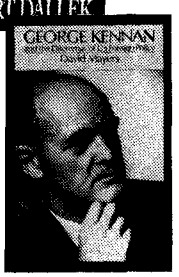

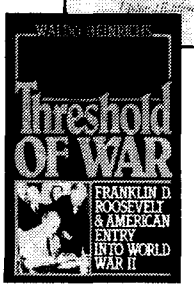

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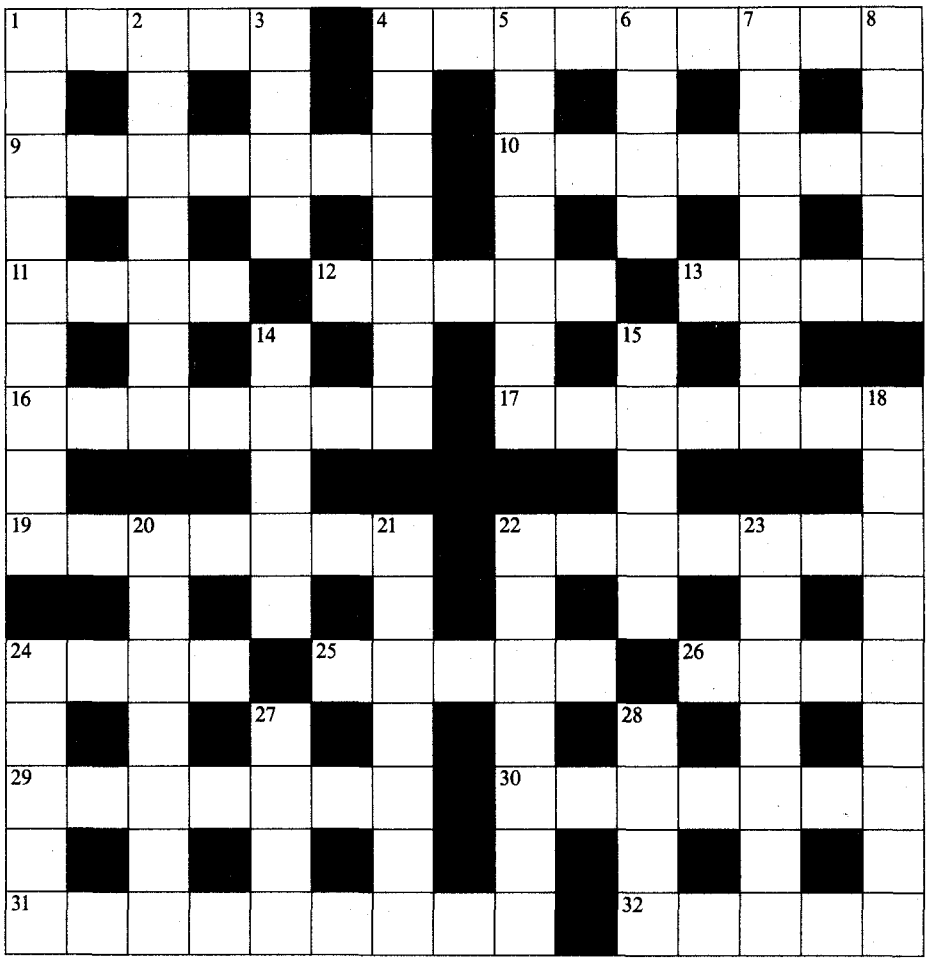
P	■	N	■	■	■	T	■	■	■	H	■	S	■	I
E	D	G	E	S	■	R	E	S	O	N	A	T	E	D
R	■	■	■	C	■	A	■	I	■	I	■	■	■	E
F	E	A	T	H	E	R	E	D	■	D	E	B	A	R
I	■	R	■	O	■	■	■	E	■	■	■	L	■	S
D	U	M	B	O	■	J	O	K	E	B	O	O	K	■
I	■	R	■	N	■	U	■	I	■	U	■	O	■	M
O	N	E	T	E	R	M	■	C	O	L	U	M	B	O
U	■	S	■	R	■	B	■	K	■	G	■	E	■	O
S	I	T	E	■	B	O	B	S	L	E	D	D	E	R

Crossword Puzzle No. 2285

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 An automobile has to be worn out, as one might say. (5)
4 The songsters of Yale? (9)
9 Pacific? Mr. Sadat held it back. (7)
10 People may say they are glad at Christmastime. (7)
11, 12 and 13 If the hobo were knighted, this would be superior, though "rains on the highway" sounds like a good clue. (4,2,3,4)
16 The main part of what keeps cars going in Paris. (7)
17 No longer in effect, a combination of the French amusement having gone to Connecticut. (7)
19 The emotions are raised somewhat, being panhandled. (7)
22 It might be the sign of fast movement. (7)
24 and 30 Completely finished—like a good pancake? (4,2,1,4)
25 and 26 Obvious places for ashes, especially after a car does this. (9)
29 Mother must have cut herself, hence didn't speak clearly (7)
30 See 24 across
31 Said to be generally related, by name, to a Civil War figure, suffering reverses, on the face of one. (9)
32 Wigwams—not the first to make swords. (5)

DOWN

1 The spoor is fitting and the running, good here. (5,4)
2 Circles at what movies may be given. (7)
3, 14 and 24 down Evidence of Donald having gotten into the ammunition supplies, being somewhat mopey? (4,2,3,5)
4 A swallow might occupy one for relatively longer time, compared with other creatures. (7)
5 Nick appears if things are this. (7)
6, 15 and 28 Minnehaha? But the tale doesn't feature a Huron woman, for instance. (4,2,3,4)
7 Half the day appearing shortly to bring very bad weather. (7)
8 Pinocchio was long this. (5)
14 See 3
15 See 6
18 There's many of you old-fashioned beaches here. (9)
20 You may not know what to call such things, when a nude man is so disguised. (7)
21 A person who puts two into one, for instance, might cut off the breakfast area. (7)
22 Unusual stripes perhaps appearing instead of 7-Up. (7)
23 Chopping this tree, our itinery is changed to do it. (7)
24 See 3
27 Suit, perhaps for the golfer—or the Rotarian. (4)
28 See 6 down

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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